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THE
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OF

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

Vol. CXLVIII.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. VOL. II.

ZWICKAU,
PRINTED FOR BROTHERS SCHUMANN.
1830.

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1876

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**THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.**

**BY
SIR WALTER SCOTT.**

VOL. II.

CHAPTER 11 — 16.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XI.

Consequence of the victory of Bannockburn. — Depression of the military spirit of England. — Ravages on the border. — Settlement of the Scottish crown. — Marriage of the princess Marjory with the steward of Scotland. — Edward Bruce invades Ireland: his success: is defeated and slain at the battle of Dundalk. — Battle of Linthaughlee: Douglas defeats sir Edmund Caillou, and sir Robert Neville. — Invasion of Fife, and gallantry of the bishop of Dunkeld. — Embassy from the pope: the cardinals who bear it are stripped upon the borders: Bruce refuses to receive their letters. — Father Newton's mission to Bruce, which totally fails. — Berwick surprised by the Scots, and besieged by the English: relieved by Ro-

bert Bruce. — Battle of Milton. — Truce of two years. — Succession of the crown further regulated. — Assize of arms. — Disputes with the pope. — Letter of the Scottish barons to John XXII. — Conspiracy of William de Soulis. — Black Parliament. — Execution of David de Brechin.

THE victory of Bannockburn was followed by a series of consequences which serve to show how entirely the energies of a kingdom, its wisdom, its skill, its bravery, and its success depend upon the manner in which its government is administered and its resources directed. The indolence with which Edward II. had managed the affairs of England, his neglect of the Scottish war, while supported almost in spite of every species of superiority by the talents of Bruce and those whom his genius had summoned to arms — this original error, followed by the great and decisive failure which the English king had experienced in his final attempt to crush the enemy after he had become too strong for his efforts, produced an effect on the public mind through England, which, did we not find it recorded by her own historians, we could hardly reconcile to the triumphs of

the same people in the past reign of Edward I., and the subsequent one of Edward III. "A hundred English," says Walsingham, "would not be ashamed to fly from three or four private Scottish soldiers, so much had they lost their national courage."

Thrice within twelve months Scottish armies, commanded by James Douglas and Edward Bruce, broke into the English frontiers, and ravaged them with fire and sword, executing great cruelties on the unfortunate inhabitants, forcing the few who could so escape to take shelter under the fortifications of Berwick, Newcastle, or Carlisle, all strong towns, carefully fortified, and numerous garrisons.

Meantime commissioners on both sides had met with a proposal for peace; but the Scots, on the one hand, were elated with success, and on the other the national spirit of the English would not agree to the conditions which they proposed, and the negotiation was therefore broken off. The war continued with mutual animosity, though much more effectually carried on by the Scots, who wasted the northern frontiers with unceasing ravages, which were hardly encountered or repaid either by resistance or retaliation. In the mean time a famine spread its ravages through both countries, and added its terrors to those of the sword, which,

by scaring away the peasants and destroying the agricultural produce, had done much to create this new scourge.

In 1315 the estates or parliament of Scotland, bethinking themselves of the evils sustained by the nation at the death of Alexander III., through the uncertainty of the succession to the crown, entered into an act of settlement, by which Edward, the king's brother, we may suppose upon the ancient principles of the Scottish nation, was called to the throne in case of Robert's decease without heirs male; and Edward or his issue failing, the succession was assured to king Robert's only child, Marjory, and her descendants. The princess was immediately married to Walter, the high-steward of Scotland, and the heir of that auspicious marriage having succeeded in a subsequent generation to the throne of Scotland, their descendants now sit upon that of Britain.

It is probable that Robert's acquaintance with his brother Edward's martial character and experience in war inclined him to give his assent that he and his issue should occupy the throne, rather than expose the unsettled state to the government of a female, by devolving it upon his own daughter. But there is also reason to believe that the monarch was suspicious that the fiery valour and irregular ambition of Edward would lead him to dispute the right of his daughter;

and king Robert was willing to spare Scotland the risk of a disputed claim to the throne, found by experience to be the inlet of so many evils, even at the sacrifice of postponing the right of his own daughter. If this be the ground of the arrangement, it is an additional instance of the paternal regard which the great Bruce bore to the nation whose monarchy he had restored, and whose independence he had asserted.

But Edward Bruce's ambition was too impatient to wait till the succession to the Scottish crown should become open to him by the death of his brother, when an opportunity seemed to offer itself which offered a prospect of instantly gaining a kingdom by the sword. This occurred when a party of Irish chiefs, discontented with the rule of the English invaders, sent an invitation to Edward Bruce to come over with a force adequate to expel the English from Ireland, and assume the sceptre of that fair island. By consent of king Robert, who was pleased to make a diversion against England upon a vulnerable point, and not, perhaps, sorry to be rid of a restless spirit, which became impatient in the lack of employment, Edward invaded Ireland at the head of a force of six thousand Scots. He fought many battles, and gained them all. He became master of the province of Ulster, and was solemnly crowned king of Ireland; but found himself amid his

successes obliged to intreat the assistance of king Robert with fresh supplies; for the impetuous Edward, who never spared his own person, was equally reckless of exposing his followers; and his successes were misfortunes, in so far as they wasted the brave men with whose lives they were purchased.

Robert Bruce led supplies to his brother's assistance, with an army which enabled him to overrun Ireland, but without gaining any permanent advantage. He threatened Dublin, and penetrated as far as Limerick in the west, but was compelled, by scarcity of provisions, to retire again into Ulster, in the spring of 1317. He shortly after returned to Scotland, leaving a part of his troops with Edward, though probably convinced that his brother was engaged in a desperate and fruitless enterprise, where he could not rely on the faith of his Irish subjects, as he termed them, or the steadiness of their troops, while Scotland was too much exhausted to supply him with new armies of auxiliaries.

After his brother's departure, Edward's career of ambition was closed at the battle of Dundalk, where, October 5th, 1318, fortune at length failed a warrior who had tried her patience by so many hazards. On that fatal day he encountered, against the advice of his officers, an Anglo-Irish army ten times more numerous than his own.

A strong champion among the English, named John Maupas, singling out the person of Edward, slew him, and received death at his hands: their bodies were found stretched upon each other in the field of battle. The victors ungenerously mutilated the body of him before whom most of them had repeatedly fled. A general officer of the Scots, called John Thomson, led back the remnant of the Scottish force to their own country. And thus ended the Scottish invasion of Ireland, with the loss of many brave soldiers, whom their country afterwards severely missed in her hour of need.

Meanwhile some important events had taken place in Scotland [1315.] while these Irish campaigns were in progress. The king, whose attention was much devoted to nautical matters, had threatened the English coast with a disembarkation at several points. He had also destroyed what authority his ancient and mortal foe, John of Lorn, still retained in the Hebrides, made him prisoner, and consigned him to the castle of Loch Leven, where he died in captivity. New efforts to disturb the English frontiers revived the evils of those unhappy countries. In 1316, Robert, at the head of a considerable army, penetrated into Yorkshire, and destroyed the country as far as Richmond, which only escaped the flames by paying a ransom. But an assault

upon Berwick, and an attempt to storm Carlisle, were both successfully resisted by the English garrisons.

During the time that Robert Bruce was in Ireland with his brother, the English on their side made several attempts on the borders. But though the king was absent, Douglas and Stewart defended the frontiers with the most successful valour.

A remarkable action was fought near a manor called Linthaughlee, about two miles above Jedburgh. James Douglas was lying at this place, which is on the banks of the Jed, and then surrounded by the forest land called Jed-wood, which stretches away towards the English border. Here he heard that the earl of Arundel, having in his company sir Thomas de Richmond, earl of Brittany, with an English force of ten thousand men, was advancing from Northumberland to take him by surprise. Douglas (as had been said of one of his ancestors) was never found asleep by his enemies, being as vigilant as he was sagacious and brave. He immediately resolved to be beforehand with the invaders. Having selected a strait passage in the line of march of the English earls, he caused the copse-wood on each side to be wrought into a sort of empalement or stockade, forming a defile, through which the road must pass,

and greatly adding to its natural difficulties. He placed his archers in ambush near this place: and when the English had engaged themselves in the narrow pathway he poured on them a volley of arrows, and charged them with the utmost fury. As the English could not form themselves into order, either for advance or for retreat, they were thrown into confusion, and compelled to fly. It was the peculiarity of Douglas to unite the personal courage and adventurous spirit of a knight-errant with the calm skill and deliberation of an accomplished leader. He threw himself headlong into the *mêlée*, singled out the earl of Brittany, and, grappling with him, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger. Douglas carried off a fur hat which the unfortunate earl wore above his helmet, as a trophy of his valour and success. The house of Douglas still wreath the escutcheon of their family with the representation of an empalement or barrier of young trees, in memory of the stratagem successfully employed by the good lord James at Linthaughlee.

Edmund de Caillou, a French knight, lay about the same time (1317.) in the garrison of Berwick, being created governor of that town. With the enterprise of his countrymen, he boasted he would drive a prey from Scotland. Accordingly he sallied forth with a band of Gascons like himself;

but as they were returning with a great spoil they were intercepted by Douglas, and Caillou lost his booty and life. Sir Robert Neville was also in Berwick. He upbraided such of the Gascons as escaped from the field with cowardice; and as the crest-fallen Frenchmen pleaded the irresistible prowess of Douglas, Neville proudly expressed a wish to see the Scottish chieftain's banner displayed, averring he would himself give battle wherever he beheld it. This vaunt reached the ears of Douglas, and shortly after the formidable banner was seen in the neighbourhood of Berwick, where the smoke of blazing hamlets marked its presence. Robert Neville collected his forces, and sallied out to make good, like a true knight, the words that he had spoken. Douglas no sooner saw him issue from the town than he went straight to the encounter. Neville and his men fought bravely, and the English champion met Douglas hand to hand. But the skill, strength, and fortune of the Scottish hero were predominant. Neville fell by the sword of Douglas, and his men were defeated.

Another military incident shows that the spirit of the king, which called forth and animated the talents of Douglas, could awaken a congenial desire of honour even in men whose profession removed them from arms or battle. An attempt of Edward II, to retaliate the aggressions of the

Scottish, was made by sending a fleet into the firth of Forth, and disembarking a considerable body of troops at Duniebrissle on the Fife coast. The sheriff collected about five hundred Scottish horse, who went to reconnoitre the invaders; but, thinking themselves unequal to the task of resisting, they retreated precipitately. They were met, as they were riding off in disorder, by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, a man hardy of heart and tall of person, who resided near the coast. "Out upon you for false knights, whose spurs should be stricken from your heels!" said the prelate to the fugitive sheriff and his followers; then catching a spear from the soldier next him, "Who loves Scotland," he said, "let him follow me!" The daring bishop then led a desperate charge against the English, who had not completed their disembarkation, and were driven back to their ships with loss. When Bruce heard of the prelate's gallantry, he declared Sinclair should hereafter be *his* bishop, and by the name of the king's bishop he was long distinguished.

Our history has so long conducted us through an unvarying recital of scenes of war and battle, that we feel a relief in being called to consider some intrigues of a more peaceful character, which place the sagacity of Robert Bruce in as remarkable a point of view as his bravery. The

king of England, suffering by the continuation of a war which distressed him on all points, yet unwilling to purchase peace by the sacrifices which the Scots demanded, fell on the scheme of procuring a truce without loss of dignity by the intervention of the pope. John XXII., then supreme pontiff, was induced, by the English influence, assuming, it is said, the interesting complexion of gold, to issue a bull, commanding a two years' peace betwixt England and Scotland. Two cardinals were intrusted with this document, with orders to pass to the nations which it concerned, and there make it known. These dignitaries of the church had also letters, both sealed and patent, addressed to both kings. And privately they were invested with powers of fulminating a sentence of excommunication against the king of Scots, his brother Edward, and any others of their adherents whom they might think fit. The cardinals, arrived in England, despatched two nuncios to Scotland, the bishop of Corbeil and a priest called Aumori, to deliver the pope's letters to the Scottish king. For comfort and dignity in their journey, these two reverend nuncios set out northwards, in the train of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop elect of Durham, who was passing to his diocese to receive consecration. But within a stage of Durham the whole party was surprised by a number

of banditti, commanded by two robber knights, called Middleton and Selby, who, from being soldiers, had become chiefs of outlaws. Undeterred by the sacred character of the churchmen, they rifled them to the last farthing, and dismissing the nuncios on their journey to Scotland, carried away the bishop elect, whom they detained a captive till they extorted a ransom so large, that the plate and jewels of the cathedral were necessarily sold to defray it.

Disheartened by so severe a welcome to the scene of hostilities, the nuncios at length came before Bruce, and presented the pope's letters. Those which were open he commanded to be read, and listened to the contents with much respect. But, ere opening the sealed epistles, he observed, that they were addressed not to the king, but to lord Robert Bruce, governor in Scotland. "These," he said, "I will not receive nor open. I have subjects of my own name, and some of them may have a share in the government. For such the holy father's letters may be designed, but they cannot be intended for me, who am sovereign of Scotland." The nuncios endeavoured to apologise, by alleging it was not the custom of the church to prejudice the right of either party during the dependency of a controversy by any word or expression. "It is I, not Edward," said Bruce, "who am prejudiced

by the conduct of the holy church. My spiritual mother does me wrong in refusing to give me the name of king, under which I am obeyed by my people; and but that I reverence our mother church, I should answer you differently." The nuncios had no alternative but to retire and report their answer to the cardinals. These dignitaries resolved, at all risks, to execute the pope's commission, by publishing the bulls and instruments. But not caring to trust their reverend persons across the border, they confided to Adam Newton, father guardian of the friars minorite of Berwick, the momentous and somewhat perilous task of communicating to Robert Bruce what they had no reason to think would be agreeable tidings.

Father Newton acted as a man of due caution. He did not intrust himself or the documents within Scottish ground until he had obtained an especial safe conduct. The bulls and papal instruments were then produced to Bruce and his council; but finding the title of king was withheld from him, Robert refused to listen to or open them, and returned them to the bearer with the utmost contempt. The father guardian next attempted to proclaim the papal truce for two years. But the military hearers received the intimation with such marks of anger and contempt, that Newton began to fear they would not confine the expressions of their displeasure to

words or gestures. He prayed earnestly that he might either have licence to pass forwards into Scotland for the purpose of holding conference with some of the Scottish prelates, or at least that he might have safe conduct for his return to Berwick. Both requests were refused, and the unlucky father guardian was commanded to be gone at his own proper peril. The reader will anticipate the consequences. The friar on his return fell into the hands of four outlaws, who stripped him of his papers and despatches, tore, it is said, the pope's bull, doubtless to prevent that copy at least from being made use of, and sent him back to Berwick unhurt, indeed, but sorely frightened. It is diverting enough to find that the guardian surmised that, by some means or other, the documents he was intrusted with had fallen into the hands of the lord Robert Bruce and his accomplices. It was thus that with a mixture of firmness and dexterity Bruce eluded a power which it would not have been politic to oppose directly, and baffled the attempts of this servile pontiff to embarrass him by spiritual opposition.

When father Adam Newton delivered his message, or rather proffered to deliver it, to Robert Bruce, the Scottish king was lying with a body of troops in the wood of Old Cambus, where he was secretly maturing an important enterprise

Of all Edward the first's northern conquests Berwick alone remained with his unfortunate son. Its importance as a commercial depot was great; as a garrison and frontier town, greater still, since it gave whichever kingdom possessed it the means of invading the other at pleasure. For this reason Edward I. had secured and garrisoned the town and castle with great care; and Edward II., careless of his father's precepts and policy in many respects, had adhered to his example in watching the security of Berwick with a jealous eye. A governor was placed in the town, who exercised such rigorous discipline as gave offence to the citizens of Berwick. A burgess named Spalding, of Scottish extraction probably, if we may judge by his name, and certainly married to a Scottish woman, was so much offended at some hard usage which he had received from the English governor, that he resolved, in revenge, to betray the place to Robert Bruce. For this purpose he communicated his plan to the earl of March, who had abandoned the English interest and become a good Scotsman. His correspondent carried the proposal to the king. "You did well to let me know this," said the Bruce, with a shrewdness which shows his acquaintance with the nature of mankind and the character of his generals; "Douglas and Randolph are emulous of glory, and if you had in-

trusted one of them with the secret, the other would have thought himself neglected; but I will employ the abilities of both." Accordingly he commanded his two celebrated generals to undertake the enterprise. By agreement with Spalding they came beneath the walls of the town on a night when he was going the rounds, and received his assistance in the escalade. Some of their men, when they had entered the town, broke their ranks to plunder, and afforded the governor of the castle the opportunity of a desperate sally, which very nearly cost the assailants dear. But Douglas, Randolph, and a young knight, called sir William Keith of Galston, drove back the English, after some hard fighting, into the precincts of the castle, which soon after surrendered when the king appeared in person before it. Bruce, delighted with this acquisition, placed the town and castle in charge of his brave son-in-law Walter, the high-steward of Scotland. He caused the place to be fully victualled for a year; five hundred gentlemen, friends and relations of the steward, having volunteered their services to augment the garrison.

Having thus made sure of his important acquisition, Bruce anew resumed his destructive incursions into the northern provinces of England, burned Northallerton, Boroughbridge, and Skipton in Craven, forced Rippon to ransom itself

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for a thousand marks, and returned from this work of ravage, uninterrupted and unopposed, his soldiers driving their prisoners before them "like flocks of sheep." Such passages, quoted from English history, recall to the reader the invasion of the Picts and Scots upon the unwarlike South Britons. But the ascendancy asserted by the Scots over the English during this reign did not rest so much on any superiority of courage on the part of the former, though doubtless repeated victory had given them confidence, and depressed for the time the martial spirit of the enemy; it was to the conduct of the leaders, and to the persevering unity of plan which they pursued, that the Scottish successes may be justly attributed. The feuds among the nobility of England ran high, and the public quarrels between the king and his barons distracted the movements of the government and the military defence of the kingdom. The six northern counties had been so long and so dreadfully harassed, that they lost all habit of self-defence, and were willing to compound, by payment of ransom and tribute, with the Scots, rather than await the reluctant and feeble support of their countrymen. Many of them, as the allegiance of borderers usually hung light on them, chose rather to join the enemy in preying on more southern provinces, than to defend their own; and the whole country

was in that state of total discontent, division, and misrule, that it was found impossible to combine the national forces for one common object.

Omitting for the present some civil affairs of considerable importance, that we may trace the events of the war, we have now to mention that Edward II., stung with resentment at the loss of Berwick, determined on a desperate effort to regain that important town. Having made a temporary agreement with his discontented barons, at the head of whom was his relation Thomas earl of Lancaster, the English king was able to assemble a powerful army with which he invested the place, 24th July, 1319.

As the walls of Berwick were so low that a man standing beneath might strike with a lance a defender on the battlements, a general attack was resolved upon on all sides. At the same time an English vessel entered the mouth of the river, which was filled with soldiers, intended to *board* the battlements from its yards manned for the proposed attempt, she grounded on a shoal, and was presently set on fire by the Scots. The land attack, after having been supported with courage and resisted with obstinacy for several hours, was found equally void of success. The besiegers then retired to their trenches, having lost many men. Next day, a tremendous engine was brought

forward, called a sow, being a large shed composed of very strong timbers, and having a roof sloping like the back of the animal from which it took its name. Like the Roman *testudo*, the sow, or movable covert, was designed to protect a body of miners beneath its shelter, while, running the end of the engine close to the wall, they employed themselves in undermining the defences of the place. The Scots had reposed their safety in the skill of a mercenary soldier, famed for his science as an engineer. This person, by name John Crab, and a Fleming by birth, had erected a huge catapult, or machine for discharging stones, with which he proposed to destroy the English sow. The event of the siege was like to depend on his skill, for the number of the besiegers was so great as to keep the defenders engaged on every point at once, so that if a part of the walls were undermined by favour of the sow, it would have been difficult to collect soldiers to man the breach. The huge engine moved slowly towards the walls; one stone, and then a second, was hurled against it in vain, and amid the shouts of both parties the massive shed was approaching the bulwark. Crab had now calculated his distance and the power of his machine, and the third stone, a huge mass of rock, fell on the middle of the sow, and broke down its formidable timbers.

“The English sow has farrowed!” shouted the exulting Scots, when they saw the soldiers and miners who had lain within the machine running headlong to save themselves by gaining the trenches. The Scots, by hurling lighted combustibles, of which they had a quantity prepared, consumed the materials of the English engine. The steward, who, with a hundred men of reserve, was going from post to post distributing succours, had disposed of all his attendants except one, when he suddenly received the alarming intelligence that the English were in the act of forcing the gate called Saint Mary’s. The gallant knight, worthy to be what fate designed him, the father of a race of monarchs, rushed to the spot, threw open the half-burned gate, and making a sudden sally, beat the enemy off from that as well as the other points of attack.

Bruce, although the garrison of Berwick had as yet made a successful defence, became anxious for the consequences of its being continued, and resolved to make an attempt to relieve his son-in-law. To attack the besiegers was the most obvious mode; but in this case the attempt must have proved a precarious and hazardous operation, as the English were defended in their position before Berwick by strong intrenchments, were brave, besides, and numerous; and it was against Bruce’s system of tactics to hazard a general

action where it could be avoided, unless recommended by circumstances of advantage which could not exist in the present case.

But he resolved to accomplish the relief of Berwick, by making such a powerful diversion as should induce Edward to raise the siege. With this view, fifteen thousand men, under Douglas and Randolph, entered England on the west marches, and turning eastward, made a hasty march towards York, for the purpose of surprising the person of the queen of England, who then resided near that city. Isabella received notice of their purpose, and fled hastily southward. It may be observed in passing, that her husband was little indebted to those who supplied her with the tidings which enabled her to make her escape.

The Scots proceeded, as usual, to ravage the country. The archbishop of York, in the absence of a more professional leader, assumed arms, and assembled a large but motley army, consisting partly of country people, ecclesiastics, and others, having little skill or spirit save that which despair might inspire. The Scots encountered them with the advantage which leaders of high courage and experience possess over those who are inexperienced in war, and veteran troops over a miscellaneous and disorderly levy. The conflict took place near Mitton, on the

river Swale, 20th September, 1319. By the simple stratagem of firing some stacks of hay, the Scots raised a dense smoke, under cover of which a division of the army turned unperceived around the flank of the archbishop's host, and got into their rear. The irregular ranks of the English were thus attacked in front and rear at once, and instantly routed with great slaughter. Three hundred of the clerical order fell in the action, or were slain in the rout, where many of the fugitives were driven into the Swale. In the savage pleasantries of the times, this battle, in which so many clergymen fell, was called the white battle, and the Chapter of Mitton.

The tidings of this disaster speedily obliged Edward to raise the siege of Berwick, and march to the south in hope to intercept the Scots on their return from Yorkshire. Indeed, the northern barons, with the earl of Lancaster at their head, knowing their estates were exposed to a victorious and active enemy, left Edward no alternative, but drew off with their vassals without waiting his leave. It was not the business of Randolph and Douglas to abide an encounter with the royal array of England at the head of an army of light troops. They eluded the enemy by retreating to their own country through the west marches loaded with prisoners and spoil. They had plundered in this incursion eighty-four

towns and villages. About the close of the same year, Douglas renewed the ravage in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and again returned with a great prey of captives and cattle, destroying at the same time the harvest which had been gathered into the farm-yards. It was said, that the name of this indefatigable and successful chief had become so formidable, that women used, in the northern counties, to still their froward children by threatening them with the Black Douglas.

These sinister events led to a truce between the two countries for the space of two years, to which Bruce, who had much to do for the internal regulation of his kingdom, willingly consented. The determination of the royal succession, the uncertainty of which had caused so much evil, and the accomplishment of a reconciliation with the pope, were the principal civil objects to be obtained. The former, indeed, with some other important matters, had already been in part accomplished; but the death of Edward Bruce rendered some alterations necessary.

In 1318 a parliament was convoked at Scone, whose first act was an engagement for solemn allegiance to the king, and for aiding him against all mortals who should menace the liberties of Scotland, or impeach his royal rights, how eminent soever might be the power, authority, and

dignity of the opponent; peculiar expressions by which the pope was indicated. Whatever native of Scotland should fail in his allegiance was denounced a traitor, without remission. Edward Bruce being dead without heirs of his body, and Marjory, at that time the Bruce's only child, being also deceased, the infant prince Robert, son of the late princess and her husband the steward of Scotland, and grandson of Robert, was proclaimed heir, in default of male issue of the king's body. The regency of the kingdom was settled on Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, and failing him, upon James lord Douglas. Rules were laid down for the succession to the kingdom, the import of which bears that the male heir nearest to the king in the direct line of descent should succeed, and failing the whole direct line, the nearest male heir in the collateral line, respect being always held to the right of blood by which king Robert himself had succeeded to the crown. *)

* See Mr. Tytler's history, vol. i. p. 353. Mr. Kerr, in a respectable history of Robert Bruce, remarks, that these provisions were in some supposed cases of difficult interpretation. It seems that they were intentionally

An assize of arms was next enacted. Every man being liable to serve in defence of his country, all Scottish natives were required to provide themselves with weapons according to their rank and means. Every man worth ten pounds a year of land was enjoined to have in readiness a buff jacket and head-piece of steel; those whose income was less might substitute iron for the back and breast-piece, and the knapsap or helmet. All these were to have gloves of plate and a sword and spear. Each man who possessed a cow was to be equipped with a bow and sheaf of arrows, or a spear. No provisions are made for horsemen. The royal tenants in chief, doubtless, came forth as men at arms; but the policy of Robert Bruce rested the chief defence of Scotland on its excellent infantry. Prudent and humane rules were laid down for providing for the armed array, when passing to and from the king's host, directed

left ambiguous, since to have adopted distinctly the modern rules of succession would have thrown a slur on the title by which the king's grandfather, Robert the Competitor, claimed the throne, and the king himself held it.

to the end of rendering them as little burthen-
some as possible to the country which they
traversed in arms. At the same time they were
to be supplied with provisions on tender of
payment. The supplying warlike weapons or
armour to England was strictly prohibited, un-
der pain of death.

The rights and independence of the Scottish
church were dauntlessly asserted, in resentment,
probably, of the pope's unfriendly aspect towards
Bruce. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from re-
mitting money to Rome. Native Scotsmen re-
siding in a foreign country were not permitted
to draw their revenues from Scotland. Such
were the patriotic measures adopted by the par-
liament of Scotland held at Scone in 1318.

The haughty pontiff, John XXII., had been
highly offended with the manner in which the
Bruce had neglected his injunctions for a truce,
and refused to receive the lettres which his ho-
liness had addressed to him. In 1318 he en-
joined the two cardinals to publish the bulls of
excommunication against Bruce and his adherents.
The reasons alleged were, that the Scottish gov-
ernor, as he affected to term him, had taken
Berwick during the papal truce; that he had
refused to receive the nuncios of the legates; and
certain secret reasons were hinted at, which his
holiness for the present kept private. Perhaps

the most powerful of these were pensions granted by Edward to the pope's brother and nephews, and some other influential cardinals, who enjoyed the pontiff's favour and confidence. Neither the church nor people of Scotland paid any attention to these bulls, though published by the legates in all solemnity. The flame of national freedom and independence burnt too clear and strong to be disturbed by the breath of Rome.

Edward in vain attempted to prevail on other princes and countries to partake with him and the pope in the common cry which they endeavoured to raise against Robert Bruce and his kingdom. He applied to the count of Flanders and other princes and states of the Netherlands, praying them to break off all commercial intercourse with the Scots as a rebellious and excommunicated people. But the Dutch, who prospered by countenancing a free trade with all men, coolly and peremptorily rejected the proposal.

The pope continued obstinate in his displeasure, and as it broke forth anew just after the retreat of king Edward and the truce he had made with Scotland, there is reason to believe that the holy father resumed his severe measures in compliance with the desires of the English king, who endeavoured thus to maintain a spiritual war against Bruce after having laid down his temporal weapons. Indeed, it will afterwards

appear that Robert alleged the machinations of Edward II. at Rome as an apology for his own breach of the truce. These intrigues were, however, successful; the pope once more renewed (1319.) the thunders of his excommunication against Bruce and his adherents in a bull of great length; and the inefficacy that had hitherto attended these efforts of his spleen had offended the pope so highly, that the prelates of York and London were ordered to repeat the ceremony, with bell, book, and candle, every Sunday and festival day through the year.

The parliament of Scotland now took it upon them to reply to the pope in vindication of themselves and their sovereign. At Aberbrothock or Arbroath, on the 6th of April, 1320, eight earls and thirty-one barons of Scotland, together with the great officers of the crown, and others, in the name of the whole community of Scotland, placed their names and seals to a spirited manifesto or memorial, in which strong sense and a manly spirit of freedom are mixed with arguments suited to the ignorance of the age.

This celebrated document commences with an enumeration of proofs of the supposed antiquity of the Scottish nation, detailing its descent from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, its conversion to the Christian faith by saint Andrew the apostle, with the long barbarous roll of baptized and unbaptized names, which, false

and true, filled up the line of the royal family. Having astounded, as they doubtless conceived, the pontiff with the nation's claim to antiquity, of which the Scots have been at all times more than sufficiently tenacious, they proceeded in a noble tone of independence. The unjust interference of Edward I. with the affairs of a free people, and the calamities which his ambition had brought upon Scotland, were forcibly described, and the subjection to which his oppression had reduced the country was painted as a second Egyptian bondage, out of which their present sovereign had conducted them victoriously by his valour and prudence, like a second Joshua or Maccabæus. The crown they declared was Bruce's by right of blood, by the merit which deserved it, and the free consent of the people who bestowed it. But yet they added in express terms, that not even to this beloved and honoured monarch would they continue their allegiance, should he show an inclination to subject his crown or his people to homage or dependence on England, but that they would in that case do their best to resist and expel him from the throne; «for," say the words of the letter, «while an hundred Scots are left to resist, they will fight for the liberty that is dearer to them than life." They required that the pope, making no distinction of persons, like

that Heaven of which he was the vicegerent, would exhort the king of England to remain content with his fair dominions, which had formerly been thought large enough to supply seven kingdoms, and cease from tormenting and oppressing a poor people his neighbours, whose only desire was to live free and unoppressed in the remote region where fate had assigned them their habitation. They reminded the pope of his duty to preserve a general pacification throughout Christendom, that all nations might join in crusade for the recovery of Palestine, in which they and their king were eager to engage, but for the impediment of the English war. They concluded by solemnly declaring, that if his holiness should, after this explanation, favour the English in their schemes for the oppression of Scotland, at his charge must lie all the loss of mortal life and immortal happiness which might be forfeited in a war of the most exterminating character. Lastly, the Scottish prelates and barons declared their spiritual obedience to the pope, and committed the defence of their cause to the God of truth, in the firm hope that he would endow them with strength to defend their right, and confound the devices of their enemies.

The popish excommunication being thus set at nought and defied by the voice of the people

of Scotland, and the nobles, proving themselves resolute in asserting the right of their monarch and the justice of their cause, the pontiff showed himself more accessible to the Scottish ambassadors, who were sent to confer with him; and as the king of France also offered his mediation, his holiness began to make more equitable proposals for peace between England and Scotland. It is probable, however, that the sovereigns principally concerned were each of them desirous to await the issue of certain dark and mysterious intrigues, which Edward and Robert respectively knew to have existence in the court of the enemy.

And, first, for the internal discontents of Scotland. Notwithstanding the great popularity of Bruce, as is evinced by the letter of the barons which we have just analysed, there had been so many feuds, separate interests, and quarrels previous to his accession, and his destruction of the power of the Anglicised barons had given so much offence, that we cannot be surprised that there should be some throughout the nation who nourished sentiments towards their king very different from those of love and veneration, which prevailed in the community at large. These sentiments of envy and ill-will led to a conspiracy, in which David de Brechin, the king's nephew, with five other knights and three esquires, men

of rank and influence, were secretly combined to a highly treasonable purpose. They had agreed, it would seem, to put the king to death, and place on the throne William de Soulis, hereditary butler of Scotland. This ambitious knight's grandfather, Nicolas de Soulis, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander the second, and wife of Alan Dureward; an undeniable claim, had his ancestress been legitimate. Sir William had himself been lately employed as a conservator of the truce upon the borders, and it is probable he had been then tampered with by the agents of Edward, and disposed to enter into this flagitious, and it would seem hopeless conspiracy.

The countess of Strathern, to whom the guilty secret was intrusted, betrayed it through fear or remorse. The conspirators were seized and brought to trial before parliament. Sir William de Soulis and the countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Sir David de Brechin, sir William Malherbe, sir John Logie, and an esquire, named Richard Brown, were condemned to death, which they accordingly suffered. Four others of the principal conspirators were tried for their lives, and acquitted. Though the acquittal of these persons, and the clemency extended to the principal conspirator, afford every reason to believe that the trials were equitably

if not favourably conducted, yet so little were men accustomed to consider the meditation of a mere change of government or innovation in the state as any thing worthy of death, that the punishment seems to have been generally regarded as severe, and the common people gave the name of the black parliament to that by whose decrees so much noble blood had been spilled. The age, however accustomed to slaughter in the field, was less familiar with capital punishments which followed on the execution of the laws.

David de Brechin's fate excited much public sympathy. He was young, brave, connected with the blood royal, and had distinguished himself by his feats against the infidels in the Holy Land. These accomplishments were to the noble sufferer in those days a general charm which interested the populace in his favour, and blinded them to a sense of his crime, as the goodly person of the "proper young man" who suffers for a meaner cause fascinates a modern group of spectators. But, excepting the betwitching attributes of high birth, youth, and valour, there is little to interest readers of the present day in the deserved fate of David de Brechin. He had been early attached to the English cause, and had assisted Comyn earl of Buchan in his close and vindictive pursuit of Robert the Bruce

through Aberdeenshire in 1308. If, indeed, he joined his uncle after the battle of old Meldrum, as is alleged by Barbour, he must have again apostatised, for in 1312 David de Brechin held an English pension, and was governor of Dundee in Edward's service. He was a prisoner of war in Scotland in 1315; and though he probably afterwards submitted to his uncle's allegiance, yet in none of those heroic exploits which render illustrious the warfare of the subsequent years does the name of David de Brechin appear. It is probable that his uncle did not trust him; which may explain, but cannot excuse, his entering into an enterprise against the life of a near relative, the restorer of his country's freedom. So it befell, however, that this young man's death was much lamented. Sir Ingram de Umfraville gave upon the occasion an example of what we have above stated concerning the light manner in which the chivalry of the period exchanged their allegiance and country from one land and sovereign to another. "I will not remain in a land," said sir Ingram, "in which so noble a knight is put to a shameful and pitiful death for such a slight cause." He left Scotland accordingly, and transferred his services and loyalty to England, having previously asked and obtained leave of Robert Bruce to dispose of his Scottish estates, which was

generously granted to him. It is difficult to conceive how far sir Ingram de Umfraville conceived the immunities of a noble knight to extend. This was the fourth time he himself had changed sides. He had borne arms under Wallace, and under the subsequent Scottish regency; he had become English, and was one of the knights appointed to keep king Edward's rein at the battle of Bannockburn. That victory reconverted sir Ingram to the Scottish allegiance, which he finally renounced out of pity and tenderness for the fate of sir David de Brechin, and, perhaps, some lurking anxiety concerning what might be ultimately reserved for himself when traitors were receiving payment at the hands of the executioner.

As the conspiracy of sir William de Soulis and his accomplices was probably known to Edward of England, so there can be no doubt that Robert Bruce was participant of that which Thomas earl of Lancaster was carrying on (1321.) against the former monarch. To this, perhaps, it was owing that commissioners appointed by both nations broke up their convention without being able to settle the grounds on which the truce should be exchanged for a lasting peace. Edward endeavoured on this occasion once more to animate the resentment of the pope against Scotland; but whether the pontiff was moved by

the high-spirited manifesto of the Scottish barons, or whether he deemed it inexpedient to bring his spiritual artillery into contempt by using it when it produced no effect, it is certain that he adopted a more impartial tone in the controversy, and more conciliatory towards the weaker kingdom.

The history of England must now be referred to. The chief vice in Edward's feeble government was a disposition to favouritism, with the sovereign's indolence, love of pleasure, and negligence of public business. The first troubles of his reign had been occasioned by his excessive partiality for a knight of Gascony named Piers Gaveston. The power of this minion being destroyed, and he himself put to death, by a league of the nobility headed by Thomas earl of Lancaster, for some time the king seemed disposed to live in harmony with his subjects. Edward's ill stars, however, led him to find another Gaveston in Hugh Despenser, who engrossed, like the Gascon, and like him misused, the good graces of his facile master. Sensible that he was as much detested by the nobility as ever Gaveston had been, Despenser contrived to whet the king's vengeance against the nobles by whom that favourite had been put to death, and especially against Lancaster. The earl, on the other hand knowing, that he stood in danger from

the deadly hatred of his sovereign, was led into the unjustifiable step of caballing with strangers and enemies against his native prince, and contrary to his sworn allegiance.

A treaty offensive and defensive was entered into between the earl and the Scottish nobles Randolph and Douglas, stipulating that the Scots, on the one part, should invade England to facilitate the operations of the earl of Lancaster; and, on the other part, that the English, in return for this brotherly support, should use their interest to obtain an equitable peace betwixt England and Scotland. If there were, as seems probable, other stipulations, they remained secret.

The earl of Lancaster convoked his friends, and rose in insurrection; but his measures had not been combined with those of the Scots. There appears to have been, as is frequently the case, mutual jealousy between the native conspirators and the foreign auxiliaries. Disconcerted by hearing that the king was on the march towards them, the insurgents threw themselves into the town of Pontefract. As the earl of Lancaster endeavoured to make his way from thence to his castle of Dunstanborough in the north, he was attacked (1323.) by sir Andrew Hartcla, warden of the western marches, and sir Simon Ward, sheriff of Yorkshire. The earl of Lancaster was tried and beheaded, and afterwards worshipped

as a saint, though he had died in an act of high treason.

This gleam of success on his arms, which had been sorely tarnished, seems to have filled Edward, who was of a sanguine and buoyant temperament, with dreams of conquest over all his enemies. As a king never stands more securely than on the ruins of a discovered and suppressed conspiracy, he wrote to the pope to give himself no further solicitude to procure a truce or peace with the Scots, since he had determined to bring them to reason by force.

CHAPTER XII.

Preparations of Edward to invade Scotland. — Incursions of the Scots into Lancashire. — The English enter Scotland. — Robert Bruce lays waste the country, and avoids battle. — The English are obliged to retreat. — Robert invades England in turn. — Defeats the king of England at Biland Abbey. — Treason and execution of Sir Andrew Hartcla. — Truce for thirteen years. — Randolph's negotiation with the pope. — Settlement of the crown of Scotland. — Deposition of Edward II. — Robert determines to break the truce under charges of infraction by England. — Edward III. assembles his army at York, with a formidable body of auxiliaries. — Douglas and Randolph advance into Northumberland at the head of a light-armed army. — Edward marches as far as the Tyne without being able to find the Scots. — A reward published to whomsoever should bring tidings of their motions. — It is claimed by Thomas of Rokeby. — The Scots are found in an inaccessible position, and they refuse battle. — The Scots shift their encampment to Stanhope Park. — Douglas attacks the English by night. — The Scots re-

treat, and the English army is dismissed. — The Scots suddenly again invade England. — A pacification takes place: its particular articles. — Illness and death of Bruce. — Thoughts on his life and character. — Effects produced on the character of the Scots during his reign.

KING Edward made extensive preparations for a campaign on a great scale: he sent for soldiers, arms, and provisions to Aquitaine and the other French provinces belonging to England, and obtained the consent of parliament for a large levy of forces, upon the scale of one man from each village and hamlet in England, with a proportional number from market-towns and cities. Subsidies were also granted to a large extent, for defraying the expenses of the expedition. But while Edward was making preparations, the Scots were already in action. Randolph broke into the west marches with those troops to whom the road was become familiar; and hardly had they returned, when the king himself, at the head of one large body advanced through the western marches, into Lancashire, wasting the country on every side; while Douglas and Randolph, who entered the borders more to the east, joined him with a second division. They marched through the vale

of Furness, laying every thing waste in their passage, and piling their waggons with the English valuables. They returned into Scotland upon the 24th July, after having spent twenty-four days in this destructive raid.

It was August, 1322, before king Edward moved northward, with a gallant army fit to have disputed a second field of Bannockburn. But Bruce not being now under an engagement to meet the English in a pitched battle, the reputation of his arms could suffer no dishonour by declining such a risk; and his sound views of military policy recommended his evading battle. He carefully laid the whole borders waste as far as the firth of Forth, removing the inhabitants to the mountains, with all their effects of any value. When the English army entered, they found a land of desolation, which famine seemed to guard. The king advanced to Edinburgh unopposed. On their march the soldiers only found one lame bull. «Is he all that you have got?» said the earl Warenne to the soldiers who brought in this solitary article of plunder. «By my faith, I never saw dearer beef.» At Edinburgh they learned that Bruce had assembled his forces at Culross, where he lay watching the motions of the invaders. The English had expected their ships in the firth, and waited for them three days. The vessels were detained by contrary winds, the soldiers suffered

by famine, and Edward was obliged to retreat without having seen an enemy. They returned by the convents of Dryburgh and Melrose, where they slew such monks as were too infirm to escape, violated the sanctuaries, and plundered the consecrated plate. * This argues a degree of licence which, in an army, seldom fails to bring its own punishment. When the English soldiers, after much want and privation, regained their own land of plenty, they indulged in it so intemperately, that sixteen thousand died of inflammation of the bowels, and others had their constitutions broken for life.

Robert Bruce hastened to retaliate the invasion which he had not judged it prudent to meet and repel. He pushed across the Tweed at the head of his army, and made an attempt upon Norham castle, in which he failed. He learnt, however, that the king of England was reposing and collecting forces at Biland Abbey, near Malton; and as the Scots, although they fought on foot, generally used in their journeys small horses of

* The effect of these ravages was repaired by the restoration of the abbey church of Melrose, the beautiful ruins of which still show the finest specimens of Gothic architecture.

uncommon strength and hardihood, Robert, by a forced march, suddenly and unexpectedly placed himself in front of the English army. But they were admirably drawn up on the ridge of a hill, accessible only by a single, narrow, and difficult ascent. Bruce commanded Douglas to storm the English position. As he advanced to the attack, he was joined by Randolph, who with four squires volunteered to fight under his command. Sir Thomas Ughtred and sir Ralph Cobham, who were stationed in advance of the English army to defend the pass, made a violent and bloody opposition. But Bruce, as at the battle of Cruachan Ben, turned the English position by means of a body of Highlanders accustomed to mountain warfare, who climbed the ridge at a distance from the scene of action, and attacked the flank and rear of the English position. King Edward with the utmost difficulty escaped to Bridlington, leaving behind him his equipage, baggage, and treasure. John of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, were made prisoners. It seems the earl had, upon some late occasion, spoken discourteously of Bruce, who made a distinction betwixt him and the other French captives, ordering Richmond into close custody, and recognising in the others honourable knights, who sought adventures and battles from no ill-will to

him, but merely for augmentation of their names in chivalry. The Steward of Scotland, at the head of five hundred Scottish men at arms, pursued the routed army to the walls of York, and knight-like (as the phrase then was) abode there till evening, to see if any would issue to fight. The Scots then raised an immense booty in the country, and once more withdrew to their own land loaded with spoil.

The fidelity of Andrew de Hartcla, who had rendered king Edward the important service of putting down the insurrection of the earl of Lancaster, had procured him the rank of earl of Carlisle, and many other royal favours. The recollection of these benefits did not, it would seem, prevent his entering into a conspiracy against the prince by whom they were conferred, of nearly the same nature with that of Lancaster, in suppressing which he himself bore the principal part. This second plot was detected, and the earl of Carlisle brought to trial. He was charged with having entered into a treasonable engagement with the Scottish king, undertaking to guarantee him in the possession of Scotland. In requital, Bruce was to render Hartcla and his associates some aid in accomplishing certain purposes in England, being the destruction doubtless of the power of the Despensers. The earl of Carlisle was degraded from his honours of nobility and

chivalry, and died the death of a traitor at Carlisle, March 2, 1322.

The sense of the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and this new example of the spirit of defection among those in whom he trusted, at length induced Edward to become seriously desirous of a long truce, preparatory to a solid peace with Scotland. Henry de Sully, the French knight made prisoner at Biland Abbey, acted as mediator, and a truce was agreed upon at a place called Thorpe. The ratification, dated at Berwick, 7th June, 1323, was made by Bruce in the express and avowed character of king of Scotland, and was so accepted by the English monarch. The truce was concluded to endure for thirteen years.

Bruce had now leisure to direct his thoughts towards achieving peace with Rome; for his being in the state of excommunication, though a circumstance little regarded in his own dominions, must have operated greatly to his disadvantage in his intercourse with other states and kingdoms of Europe. The king despatched to Rome his nephew, the celebrated Randolph earl of Moray, who conducted the negotiation with such tact and dexterity, that he induced the pope to address a bull to his royal relation under the long-withheld title of king of Scotland. The delicacy of the discussion was so great, that we are sur-

prised to find a northern warrior, who scarce had breathed any air save that of the battle-field, capable of encountering and attaining the advantage over the subtle Italian priest in his own art of diplomacy. But the qualities which form a military character of the highest order are the same with those of the consummate politician. Shrewdness to arrange plans of attack, prudence to foresee and obviate those of his antagonist, perfect composure and acuteness in discerning and seizing every opportunity of advantage, hold an equal share in the composition of both. The king of England was extremely displeased with the pope, and intrigued so much at Rome to resume his influence, and use it to the prejudice of Robert, that his private machinations there were afterwards alleged by the Scots as the cause of their breaking the long truce which had been concluded between the countries.

Randolph's talents for negotiation were also displayed in effecting a league between Scotland and France, which the circumstances of the times seemed strongly to recommend, and which was entered into accordingly. This French alliance was productive of events very prejudicial to Scotland in after-ages, often involving the country in war with England, when the interests of the nation would have strongly recommended neutrality. But these evil consequences were not so

strongly apparent as the immediate advantage of securing the assistance and support of a wealthy and powerful nation, who were, like themselves, the natural enemies of England. The alliance with France, the consequences of which penetrate deep into future Scottish history, was of an offensive and defensive character. But its effects and obligations on the part of Scotland were declared to be suspended till the truce of Berwick should be ended.

Scotland had now, what was a novelty to her stormy history; a continuance of some years of peace. Several changes took place in the royal family. The first and happiest was the birth of a son to Bruce, who afterwards succeeded his father by the title of David II. The joy of this event was allayed by the death of the king's son-in-law, the valiant Stewart. His wife, the princess Marjory, had died soon after the birth of her son in 1316. The Stewart's behaviour at Bannockburn, when almost a boy, at the siege of Berwick, where he defended the place against the whole force of England, at Biland Abbey, and on other occasions, had raised his fame high among the Scottish champions of that heroic period.

In consequence of these changes in the family of the king a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth in July, 1326, in which it is worthy

of observation that the representatives of the royal boroughs for the first time were admitted ; a sure sign of the reviving prosperity of the country, which has always kept pace with or rather led to the increasing importance of the towns.

In this parliament the estates took their oath of fealty to the infant David, son of Robert Bruce, and failing him or his heirs to Robert Stewart, son of Walter Stewart, so lately lost and lamented, and Marjory, also deceased, the daughter of Robert by his first queen. The same parliament granted to the Bruce a tenth of the rents of all the lands of the kingdom of Scotland, to be levied agreeably to the valuation or extent, as it is termed, of Alexander III.

In the year 1327 a revolution took place in the government of England, which had a strong effect on the relations between that kingdom and Scotland. The remains of the earl of Lancaster's party in the state had now arranged themselves under the ambitious queen Isabella and her minion Mortimer, and accomplished the overthrow of Edward the second's power, which the same faction had in vain attempted under Lancaster and Hartcla. The unfortunate king, more weak than wilful, then executed a compulsory resignation in favour of his son Edward III., and, thus dethroned, was imprisoned, and finally most cruelly murdered.

It is probable that Robert Bruce was determined to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this convulsion in England, to infringe the truce and renew the war, with the purpose of compelling an advantageous peace. For this he wanted not sufficiently fair pretexts, though it may be doubted whether he would have made use of them had not the opportunity for renewing the war, with a kingdom governed by a boy and divided by factions, seemed so particularly inviting. His ostensible motives, however, were, that, although an article of the treaty at Thorpe, confirmed at Berwick, provided that the spiritual excommunication pronounced against Bruce should be suspended till the termination of the truce, yet Edward, by underhand measures at the court of Rome had endeavoured to prejudice the cause of the Scottish king with the pontiff, and obstruct, if possible, the important object of his reconciliation with Rome. It was also alleged on the part of Scotland, that the English cruizers had infringed the truce, by interrupting the commerce between Flanders and Scotland, and particularly by the capture of various merchant vessels, for which no indemnity could be obtained.

The truth seems to be, that Robert, having these causes or pretences for breaking off the truce, was desirous to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances

of England to bring matters to a final issue, and either to resume the war at a period which promised advantage, or obtain a distinct recognition of the independence of Scotland, and an acknowledgment of his own title to the crown. Froissart and other historians have intimated that the Scottish king desired also to avail himself of the opportunity to obtain in permanent sovereignty some part of the northern provinces of England. It is highly probable such a claim was stated and founded upon the possession of these counties by the Scottish kings in David I.'s time, and before it. But it was probably mentioned in the usual policy of negotiators, who state their demands high that there may be room for concession. The serious prosecution of such a design neither accords with the Bruce's policy nor with his actual conduct. He well knew that Northumberland and Cumberland, over which Scotland had once a claim, were now become a part of England, and attached to that country by all the ties of national predilection, and that although a right to them might be conceded in an hour of distress, it would only create a perpetual cause of war for their recovery, when England should regain its superiority. Accordingly, in all his inroads, Bruce treated the border districts as part of England, to be plundered by his flying armies, while he never took measures either to conciliate the

inhabitants or secure and garrison any places of strength for the appropriation of the country. The line drawn betwixt the Tweed and Solway afforded to Scotland a strong frontier, which any advance to the southward must have rendered a weak and unprotected one. Accordingly, when triumphant in the war which he undertook, the sagacious Robert did not make any proposal for enlarging the territory of Scotland, while he took every means for insuring her independence.

Negotiations for continuing the truce, or converting it into a final peace, which seems the point aimed at by Bruce, were finally broken off between the two kingdoms; and Edward III., already, though in early youth, animated by the martial spirit which no king of England possessed more strongly, appointed his forces to meet at Newcastle before the 29th of May, 1327, alleging that the king of Scotland had convoked his army to assemble at that day upon the borders, in breach of the truce concluded at Thorpe. The rendezvous took place, however, at York, where a noble army convened under command of the young king, the future hero of Cressy, to which magnificent host had been added, at the expense of a large subsidy, five hundred men at arms from Hainault, who were then reckoned the best soldiers in Europe. With the archers and light horse attendant on each man at arms, the number

of these auxiliaries must be calculated as amounting to three thousand men. But, as it proved, their heavy horses and heavy armour rendered them ill qualified to act in the swampy, wild, and mountainous country where the seat of war was destined to lie. An accidental quarrel also took place at York betwixt these knightly strangers and the English archers. Much blood was shed on both sides, and a discord created between the foreigners and natives of Edward's army, which seems to have caused embarrassment during the whole expedition.

In the mean time the Scottish forces, to the number of two or three thousand men at arms, well mounted and equipped for a day of battle, and a large body of their light cavalry, amounting to more than ten thousand, with many followers, who marched on horseback, but fought on foot, invaded the western border, according to their custom, and penetrating through the wild frontier of Cumberland, came down upon Weardale, in the bishopric of Durham, marking their course with more than their usual ferocity of devastation. These forces, superior to all known in Europe for irregular warfare, were conducted by the wisdom, experience, and enterprising courage of the famed Randolph and the good lord James Douglas, guided, doubtless, by the anxious instructions of the Bruce, who,

though only fifty-three years of age, was affected by a disease of the blood, then termed the leprosy, which prevented his leading his armies in person.

The king of England, on the other hand, at the head of a princely army of sixty thousand men, including five hundred belted knights, animated by the presence of the queen mother and fifty ladies of the highest rank, who witnessed their departure, set out from York (1327), with the determination of chastising the invaders and destroyers of his country. The high spirit of the youthful monarch was animated, besides, by a defiance which Bruce despatched to him by a herald, stating his determination to work his pleasure with fire and sword on the English frontiers.

The English army advanced in the most perfect order, and reached Northumberland, where the first intelligence they received of the enemy was by the smoke and flame of the villages suffering under presence of the invaders, tokens which arose conspicuous all around on the verge of the horizon. The English marched on these "melancholy beacons," but without reaching the authors of the mischief. During the space of three days, the light-armed and active Scots made their presence manifest by these marks of ravage, within five miles of the English army, but were

not otherwise to be seen or brought to combat. After a vain and fatiguing pursuit which lasted three days, the English, in despair of overtaking their light-footed enemy, at length returned to the banks of the Tyne, determined to await the Scots on that river, and intercept their return to Scotland. This resolution seems to have been adopted in the vain imagination that the Scots, intimately acquainted with the whole of an extensive waste frontier, would choose in leaving England to use precisely the same road by which they had entered it. The halt on the banks of the Tyne proved as detrimental and embarrassing to the English, and especially to the auxiliaries, as the advance and pursuit had been. Provisions grew scarce, forage still scarcer; the rain poured down in torrents; the river became swollen: they had only wet wood to burn, and such bread to eat as they had carried for several days together at the croup of their saddles, wetted and soiled by the rain and the sweat of the horses. They were mid-way between Newcastle and Carlisle, and too distant to receive assistance from either town. After enduring these hardships for eight days, the soldiers became so mutinous, that it was resolved upon, as the lesser evil, again to put them in movement, and march in quest of the Scottish army.

The march was therefore resumed in a southern

direction, still with the hope to meet the enemy on their return, and land to the amount of a hundred pounds a year, with the honour of knight-hood, was proclaimed through the host as the reward of any one who should bring certain notice where the Scottish army could be found; an unparalleled circumstance in war, considering that a king in his own country, and at the head of his own royal army, found such a measure necessary to procure information of the position of a host of twenty-five thousand men, who must have been within a half circle of twenty miles drawn round the English army. Many knights and squires set off in quest of information that might merit to secure the reward. Such of the English host as had been transferred to the north bank of the Tyne recrossed the river with difficulty and loss.

On the 31st of July, Thomas de Rokeby, a Yorkshire gentleman, returned to claim the promised reward. His acquaintance with the Scottish position was complete: he had been made prisoner, and brought before the Scottish leaders. He told them of the reward which had been promised, and the purpose of his approaching their encampment. On this statement Douglas and Randolph dismissed him without ransom, telling him to inform the English king they knew as little of his motions as he did of theirs (an assertion which

may very well be doubted), but would be glad to meet him in their present position, which was within six or seven miles of his own army. The English arrayed themselves for battle, and advanced under the guidance of Rokeby, now sir Thomas, but were mortified to find their enemies drawn up on the crest of a steep hill, at the foot of which ran the river Wear, through a rocky channel, so that an attack upon determined men and veteran soldiers, in such a position, must be attended with destruction to the assailants.

The king sent a herald to defy the Scots to a fair field of fight, according to the practice of chivalry: he offered either to withdraw his own troops from the northern bank, and permit the Scottish army to come over and form in array of battle; or, if the enemy preferred to retire from the southern bank, and allow the English to cross the river unmolested, he declared his willingness to make the attack. But Douglas and Randolph knew too well their own inferiority in numbers and appointments, and the great advantage of their present situation, to embrace either alternative. They returned for answer, that they had entered England without the consent of the king and his barons, that they would abide in the realm as long as they pleased: if

the king dislikes our presence," said they, "let him pass the river, and do his best to chastise us." Thus the two armies continued facing each other; the Scots on the south bank of the Wear, the English on the north; the former subsisting on the herds of cattle which they drove in from the country on all hands, the latter living poorly on such provisions as they brought with them: the former spending their night round immense fires, maintained in the greater profusion for the pleasure of wasting the English wood, and lodging in huts and lodges made of boughs; the English, who were on the depopulated and wasted side of the river, sleeping many of them in the open air, with their saddles for pillows, and holding their horses in their hands. They were annoyed by the Scottish bordermen winding their horns all night, and making a noise as if, says Froissart, "all the devils of hell had been there." Having thus faced each other for two or three days, the English, at dawn of the third or fourth morning, perceived the Scots' position was deserted and empty. They had decamped with much silence and celerity, and were soon found to have occupied a new position on the Wear, resembling the former in its general description, but even stronger, and masked by a wood, being part of an inclosed chase, called

Stanhope Deer-park, the property of the bishop of Durham. Here the two hostile armies confronted each other as formerly; the English declining to attack on account of the strength of the Scottish position, the Scots refusing battle with an army superior to their own.

Whilst they had little to do save to remark each other's equipment, the Scots saw among the English two novelties in the practice of war, which, though attended with very different consequences, are recorded by contemporaries with equal wonder. The one was a mode of adjusting the crest upon the helmet, called *timbering*; the other was the use of a new kind of artillery, then called engynes, or, by abbreviation, gynes, or cracks of war, from which we have derived the modern term guns. The effect produced by fire-arms in their rude state could not have been formidable, nor could it have been augured that the invention would cause a general change in the art of war, since it is merely noticed as a novelty, along with a new and fantastic mode of ornamenting the helmet.

But the English did not remain long in the neighbourhood of the Douglas in undisturbed slumbers. On the second night after their arrival in this new position, that enterprising leader left the Scottish camp with a select body of men at

arms, crossed the Wear at a distance from the English encampment, and entered it, saying, as he passed the sleepy sentinels, in the manner and with the national exclamation of an English officer making the rounds: „Ha! Saint George! have we no ward here?“ He reached the king's tent without discovery, cut asunder the ropes, and cried his war cry of „Douglas! Douglas!“ The young king only escaped death or captivity by the fidelity of his chaplain and others of his household, who fell in his defence. Disappointed in his attempt on the king's person, which was his main object, Douglas cut his way through the English host, who were now gathering fast, broke from their encampment, and returned safe to the Scottish camp with fresh laurels in his helmet.

On the second night after this camisade the English received intimation from a Scottish captive that all the army were commanded to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, and to follow the banner of Douglas. The English conceived this to be a preparation for a repetition of the nocturnal attack, and lay on their arms all the night. But Douglas was too wise to trust to a renewal of the same stratagem. In the morning it was ascertained that the Scots, having left great fires burning in their camp, had marched off about midnight by a road which they had cut

through a morass in their rear supposed to be impassable.

The camp of the Scots now deserted furnished a curious spectacle to the English and the strangers. Four hundred beeves lay slaughtered for the use of their army. Three hundred caldrons, formed extemporaneously out of raw hides, were filled with the beef which the same skins had covered while the creatures were alive: hundreds of old brogues, made out of the same materials, lay about the tents. Five English prisoners were found bound to trees, three of whom had their legs broken, although whether in some previous action, or by a gratuitous piece of cruelty after they were made prisoners, does not appear. The hardy warriors of Douglas and Randolph lived exactly as drovers and other Scots of the lower order do at the present day, when bound on long journeys. A bag of oatmeal hung at the croup of the saddle, which also bore a plate of iron, called a *girdle*, on which the said oatmeal was baked into cakes as occasion offered; animal food was furnished by their plunder in an enemy's country — in their own they subsisted well enough without. Salt, liquor of any kind, save water, as well as any variety of food, they entirely dispensed with.

Wanting so little, and carrying with them the means of satisfying themselves, it was easy to see

why these light marauders remained concealed from the heavy-armed English distressed alike by their numerous wants and the apparatus they bore along to supply them, until it was their pleasure to become visible in Weardale, where they remained no longer than suited their own inclination. It soon appeared that Douglas and Randolph, having taken a circuitous course till they had turned the flank, were already advanced on their way homeward, to meet another Scottish army, which had crossed the frontier to extricate them if it should be necessary.

The English retreated to Durham, dejected and distressed, especially the knights and men at arms of Hainault, many of whom, instead of the praise and plunder they hoped to acquire, had lost their valuable horses and property. They were dismissed, however, with thanks and reward; and it is said these troops, notwithstanding their total inefficiency, had cost the kingdom of England a sum equal to 320,000*l.* sterling of modern money.

King Edward III. next convoked a parliament at York, in which there appeared a tendency on the part of England to concede the main points on which proposals for peace had hitherto failed, by acknowledging the independence of Scotland, and the legitimate sovereignty of Bruce. These dispositions to reconciliation were much quick-

ened by the sudden apparition of king Robert himself on the eastern frontier, where he besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick, while a large division of his army burned and destroyed the open country, and the king himself rode about hunting from one park to another as if on a pleasure party. The parliament at York although the besieged castles made a gallant defence, agreed upon a truce, which it was now determined should be the introduction to a lasting peace. As a necessary preliminary, the English statesmen resolved formally to execute a resignation of all claims of dominion and superiority which had been assumed over the kingdom of Scotland, and agreed that all muniments or public instruments asserting or tending to support such a claim should be delivered up. This agreement was subscribed by the king on the 4th of March, 1328. Peace was afterwards concluded at Edinburgh the 17th of March, 1328, and ratified at a parliament held at Northampton, the 4th of May, 1328. It was confirmed by a match agreed upon between the princess Joanna, sister to Edward III., and David, son of Robert I., though both were as yet infants. Articles of strict amity were settled betwixt the nations, without prejudice to the effect of the alliance between Scotland and France. Bruce renounced the

privilege of assisting rebels of England, should such arise in Ireland, and Edward the power of encouraging those of the isles who might rise against Scotland. It was stipulated that all the charters and documents carried from Scotland by Edward the first should be restored, and the king of England was pledged to give his aid in the court of Rome towards the recall of the excommunication awarded against king Robert. Lastly, Scotland was to pay a sum of twenty thousand pounds, in consideration of these favourable terms. The borders were to be maintained in strict order on both sides, and the fatal coronation stone was to be restored to Scotland. There was another separate obligation on the Scottish side, which led to most serious consequences in the subsequent reign. The seventh article of the peace of Northampton provided that certain English barons, Thomas lord Wake of Lidel, Henry de Beaumont earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy should be restored to the lands and heritages in Scotland, whereof they had been deprived during the war by the king of Scots seizing them into his own hand. The execution of this article was deferred by the Scottish king, who was not, it may be conceived, very willing again to introduce English nobles as landholders into Scotland. The English mob on their part resisted the re-

moval of the fatal stone from Westminster, where it had been deposited; a pertinacity which "superstitious eld" believed was its own punishment, since with slow but sure attraction the mystic influence of the magnetic palladium drew the Scottish Solomon, James VI., to the sovereignty in the kingdom where it was deposited. The deed called Ragman's Roll, being the list of the barons and men of note who subscribed the submission to Edward the first in 1296, was, however, delivered up to the Scots; and a more important pledge, the English princess Joanna, then only seven years old, was placed in the custody of Bruce, to be united at a fitting age to her boy-bridegroom, David, who was himself two years younger.

The treaty of peace made at Northampton has been termed dishonourable to England by her historians. But stipulations that are just and necessary in themselves cannot infer dishonour, however disadvantageous they may be. The treaty of Northampton was just, because the English had no title to the superiority of Scotland; and it was necessary, because Edward III. had no force to oppose the Scottish army, but was compelled to lie within the fortifications of York, and see the invaders destroy the country nearly to the banks of the Humber. What is alike demanded by justice and policy it may be mor-

tifying but cannot be dishonourable to concede; and before passing so heavy a censure on the Northampton parliament, these learned writers ought to have considered whether England possessed any right over Scotland; and, secondly, whether that which they claimed was an adequate motive for continuing an unsuccessful war.

Bruce seemed only to wait for the final deliverance of his country to close his heroic career. He had retired, probably for the purpose of enjoying a milder climate, to his castle of Cardross, on the firth of Clyde, near Dumbarton. Here he lived in princely retirement, and, entertaining the nobles with rude hospitality, relieved by liberal doles of food the distresses of the poor. Nautical affairs seem to have engaged his attention very much, and he built vessels, with which he often went on the adjacent firth. He practised falconry, being unequal to sustain the fatigue of hunting. We may add, for every thing is interesting where Robert Bruce is the subject, that he kept a lion, and a fool named Patrick, as regular parts of his establishment. Meantime his disease (a species of leprosy, as we have already said, which had origin in the hardships and privations which he had sustained for so many years) gained ground upon his remaining strength.

When he found his end drew nigh, that great king summoned his barons and peers around him,

and affectionately recommended his son to their care, then singling out the good lord James of Douglas, fondly entreated of him, as his old friend and companion in arms, to cause the heart to be taken from his body after death, conjuring him to take the charge of transporting it to Palestine in redemption of a vow which he had made to go in person thither, when he was disentangled from the cares brought on him by the English wars. "Now the hour his come," he said, "I cannot avail myself of the opportunity, but must send my heart thither in place of my body; and a better knight than you, my dear and tried friend and comrade, to execute such a commission, the world holds not." All who were present wept bitterly around the bed, while the king, with almost his dying words, bequeathed this melancholy task to his best-beloved follower and champion. On the 7th of June, 1329, died Robert Bruce, at the almost premature age of fifty-five. He was buried at Dunfermline, where his tomb was opened in our time, and his reliques again interred amid all the feelings of awe and admiration which such a sight tended naturally to inspire.

Remarkable in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same

individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn, and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Ráthrin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes — the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his

early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour, to the cruelty of the native Irish. Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high, that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plan of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his testament, as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen,

which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day. *

* These verses are thus given by Mr. Tytler. I have, for the sake of rendering them intelligible, adopted the plan of modern spelling, retaining the ancient language. The original verses are in Latin leonines.

On foot should be all Scottish weire, †
 By hill and moss themselves to bear:
 Let wood for walls be — bow and spear
 And battle-axe their fighting gear:
 That enemies do them no drear, ††
 In strait place cause keep all store,
 And burn the plain land them before;
 Then shall they pass away in haste,
 When that they nothing find but waste;
 With wiles and wakening of the night,
 And mickle noises made on height;
 Then shall they turn with great affray,
 As they were chased with sword away.
 This is the council and intent
 Of good king Robert's testament.

† War.

†† Harm.

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons, that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors, the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners: it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strath-Clyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots, and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language. This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distin-

guished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen the Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state, which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner still separated the Highlander from his lowland neighbour: but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon, during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce. The power of the Macdougals, who had before Bruce's accession acted as independent chiefs, making peace and war at their pleasure, was broken both in Galloway and Argyleshire. The powerful Campbell, of Norman descent, but possessed of large Highland possessions by marriage with the heiress of a Celtic chief called Dermid O'Duine, obtained great part of their Argyleshire possessions, and being allied to the royal family, did much to secure the people

of that country from relapsing into the barbarous independence of their ancestors. There were other great lowland barons settled in the Celtic regions, of whom it may be briefly remarked, that, like the Anglo-Norman barons who settled in Ireland beyond the margin of the pale, * they speedily assumed the Celtic manners, assumed the authority of mountain-chiefs, so flattering to human pride, and, to conclude, adopted the titles and genealogies, however far-fetched, or even if actually forged, by which bards and seannachies connected their ancestry with the names of ancient Celtic heroes, whose descendants were entitled to honour and obedience. Yet still the Campbells and other great lowland or Norman families who were settled in the Highlands did not dream of pursuing the wild conduct, or aiming at the absolute independence affected by the Macdougals and other native princes among the Gael. The former owned the king's authority, and procured from the sovereign delegated powers under which they strengthened themselves, and governed, or, as

* These are said in an act of parliament to have become *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*, more Irish in their habits than the Irish themselves.

it happened, oppressed, their neighbours. Thus the Highlands, though still a most disorderly part of Scotland, acknowledged in a great degree the authority of the king, which they had formerly disputed and contemned.

But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom, or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. By relinquishing their fiefs they conceived they were entitled to choose their own master; and the right which any monarch possessed to claim their duty in respect of the place of their birth did not, in their opinion, infer any irrefragable tie of allegiance. When they joined the king's standard at the head of their vassals, they accounted themselves the Norman leaders of a race of foreigners, whose descent they despised, and whom, compared to themselves, they accounted barbarians. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undaunted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as

Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other — the consciousness of a mutual object, which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest — taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
 Freedom makes men to have liking.
 To man all solace Freedom gives:
 He lives at ease who freely lives;
 And he that aye has lived free,
 May not well know the misery,
 The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
 That's compass'd in the name of thrall. *

* These spirited lines are somewhat modernised.

CHAPTER XIII.

Douglas sets out on his pilgrimage with the Bruce's heart: Is killed in Spain. — Randolph assumes the regency. — Claims of the disinherited English barons: they resolve to invade Scotland, and are headed by Edward Baliol. — Death of Randolph. — Earl of Mar chosen regent. — Battle of Dupplin Moor. — Earl of March retreats from before Perth. — Edward Baliol is chosen king, but instantly expelled. — Sir Andrew Moray chosen regent by the royalists, but is made prisoner. — Siege of Berwick by the English. — Battle of Halidon-Hill. — Great loss of the Scots. — The loyalists only hold four castles in Scotland. — Edward Baliol cedes to England the southern parts of Scotland. — Quarrel among the Anglo-Scottish barons. — Liberation of sir Andrew Moray. — Randolph earl of Moray and the Stewart are regents. — The loyalists are active and successful. — Defence of Lochleven. — Defeat of Guy earl of Namur on the Borough Moor. — Earl of Athol (David de Strathbogie) defeated and slain.

THE parliamentary settlement at Cambuskenneth had nominated Randolph as regent of the kingdom; a choice which could not have been amended: but after-circumstances occasioned it to be much regretted that, by devolving on Douglas the perilous and distant expedition to Palestine, Bruce's bequest should have deprived the country of the services of the only noble who could have replaced those of the earl of Moray in case of death or indisposition. And attention is so much riveted on this most unhappy circumstance, for such it certainly proved, that authors have endeavoured to reconcile it to the sagacity of Robert Bruce, by imputing it to a refinement of policy on his part. They suppose that, fearing jealousy and emulation between Douglas and Randolph, when he himself was no longer on the scene, he found an honourable pretext to remove Douglas from Scotland, that Randolph, his nephew, might exercise undisputed authority. The recollection of the field of Stirling, where Douglas reined up his horse, lest he should seem to share Randolph's victory over Clifford; that, too, of Biland Abbey, where Randolph joined Douglas with only four squires, and served under him as a volunteer, seem to give assurance that these brave men were incapable of any emulation dangerous to their country or prejudicial to their loyalty; and it will be probably thought that

Bruce nourished no such apprehensions, but, lying an excommunicated man upon his death-bed, was induced to propitiate heaven by some act of devotion of unusual solemnity; a course so consistent with the religious doctrines universally received at the time, that it requires no further explanation.

The issue of the expedition was nevertheless most disastrous to Scotland. The good lord James, having the precious heart under his charge, set out for Palestine with a gallant retinue, and observing great state. He landed at Seville in his voyage, and learning the king Alphonso was at war with the Moors, his zeal to encounter the infidels induced him to offer his services. They were honourably and thankfully accepted; but having involved himself too far in pursuit of the retreating enemy, Douglas was surrounded by numbers of the infidels when there were not ten of his own suite left around his person; yet he might have retreated in safety had he not charged, with the intention of rescuing sir William Sinclair, whom he saw borne down by a multitude. But the good knight failed in his generous purpose, and was slain by the superior number of the Moors. Scotland never lost a better worthy at a period when his services were more needed. He united the romantic accomplishments of a knight of chivalry with the more

solid talents of a great military leader. The relics of his train brought back the heart of the Bruce with the body of his faithful follower to their native country. The heart of the king was deposited in Melrose Abbey, and the corpse of Douglas was laid in the tomb of his ancestors, in the church of the same name. The good lord James of Douglas left no legitimate issue; but a natural son of his, distinguished by the title of the Knight of Liddisdale, makes an important figure in the following pages, having inherited his father's military talents and courage, but unfortunately without possessing his pure and high-spirited sentiments of chivalrous loyalty.

We have dwelt at considerable length on the reign of Robert Bruce, so interesting from its strange variety of incident, and the important effects which it produced upon the kingdom of Scotland, which was in the course of the war so much agitated in all its provinces, that, as we before observed, all the slighter distinctions of the lowland inhabitants, so well defined in the earlier times, were broken down, dissolved, and merged in the grand national division of Britons into Scot and Englishman.

Randolph assumed the government of Scotland with the cautious wisdom which might have been expected from his experience. He was conscious that Edward III., though prudently observing the

treaty of Northampton, felt its articles as a shameful dereliction of Edward the first's claims, and that the people of England regarded it as a dishonourable composition, patched up by queen Isabella and her usurping favourite, Mortimer, without regard to national honour, in order to get rid of the incumbrance of the Scottish war. Randolph also knew that the families of Comyns, still numerous and powerful in Scotland, had not forgotten the death of one kinsman at Dumfries, and the defeat of another, the earl of Buchan, at Old Meldrum, with the general diminution of their family consequence. The young king's coronation was, however, solemnized at Scone (1331.), with that of his youthful consort queen Joanna, and every precaution was used to render the government secure and stable. The precautions were necessary, for a tempest was impending.

We have stated, that an article in the treaty of Northampton stipulated that the lords Beaumont and Wake of Liddel, with sir Henry Percy, should be restored to their estates in Scotland, which had been declared forfeited by Robert Bruce. Of the three, Percy alone had been restored. It certainly appears that Robert Bruce had protracted the execution of this part of the treaty of Northampton with a degree of delay, for which it was easy to assign reasons in

policy, though it might have been difficult to support them in equity. Lord Wake claimed the valley of Liddel, which formed the readiest gate into the Scottish west borders. Beaumont, a rich and powerful baron, claimed the earldom of Buchan, a remote district, where he might have supported himself in a species of independence, and caused much trouble to the Scottish government. Both were foreigners and Englishmen, and there was certainly risk in introducing them into the bosom of the kingdom. But this, though a reason for not having consented to the article, afforded no ground for departing from it. Mortimer's administration, who did not favour Beaumont, showed no desire to press his claim on Robert Bruce. But after Mortimer's fall (1314.), the restoration of Beaumont and Wake was positively demanded by the young king. The Scottish regent had by this time acquired information that the English lords in question, and others, had engaged in a conspiracy to invade Scotland, and dethrone, if possible, his youthful ward; a hostile enterprise which authorized Randolph to refuse the restitution demanded at such a conjuncture.

To understand the nature of this undertaking, the reader must be informed (and here a remarkable name in Scottish history again occurs), that John de Baliol, for a short time the vassal

king of Scotland, died in obscurity at his hereditary castle in Normandy, shortly after the decisive battle of Bannockburn, leaving a son, Edward. With the hope of intimidating Bruce, Edward the second sent to Normandy for this young man, who then displayed a bold and adventurous character; and the younger Baliol accordingly appeared at the English court in 1324, and again in 1327, where, as the person among the disinherited who in his father's deposition had suffered the greatest forfeiture of all, though not at the hand of king Robert, he naturally took a lead in the undertaking of Wake, Beaumont, and the other lords and knights, who like them desired restoration of Scottish estates, though they could not, like them, plead the advantage of the express clause in the treaty of Northampton. These high-spirited and adventurous barons, assembling a small force of three hundred horse and a few foot soldiers, determined with such slender means to attempt the subjugation of a kingdom which had of late repeatedly defied the whole strength of England.

Edward III. temporised. Under pretence of strictly observing the truce between the kingdoms, he prohibited the disinherited barons entering Scotland by the land frontier, but connived at their embarking at the obscure seaport of Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber,

and sailing from thence in quest of the adventures which fortune should send them.

Although the attempt seemed a desperate one, the regent Randolph took even more than necessary pains to prepare for it. But the best means of resistance lay in his own high talents and long experience, and of the advantages of these his country was deprived in an evil hour. He died (1332.) at Musselburgh, when leading the Scottish army northward, to provide against the threatened descent of Baliol and his followers. A demise so critical was generally ascribed to poison; and a fugitive monk was pointed out as the alleged perpetrator of the deed.

It seemed as if the sound governance, military talent, and even common defence of the Scottish people had died with Robert Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph. The veteran soldiers, indeed, survived, but without their leaders, and as useless as a blade deprived of its hilt: and the nobility, who had universally submitted to the talents of Randolph, now broke out into factious emulation. After much jealous cabal, Donald earl of Mar, a man of very ordinary talent, although nephew to Robert Bruce, was elevated to the regency. This took place at Perth; and the ill-omened election was scarce made, when the Scots nobles learned (July 31.) that Baliol and the disinherited barons had entered the firth of

Forth, disembarked at Kinghorn, defeated the earl of Fife, and, marching across the country, were encamped near Forteviot, with the river Earne in their front. Their host had been joined by many adherents, but did not in all amount to more than three thousand men. With an army more than ten times as numerous, the earl of Mar encamped upon Dupplin Moor, on the opposite or right bank of the river; while a second army composed of southern barons, led by the earl of March, was arrived within eight miles of the enemy's left flank. A more desperate situation could scarce be conceived than that of Baliol, and he relieved himself by a resolution which seemed to be as desperate. A stake planted by a secret adherent of the disinherited lords in a ford of the Earne indicated a secure place of crossing. The English army passed (Aug. 12.) the river at midnight, and in profound silence, surprised the camp of their numerous enemies, who were taken at unawares, dizzy with sleep and wassail; for they had passed a night of intemperance, and totally neglected posting sentinels. The English made a most piteous carnage among their unresisting enemies. The young earl of Moray showed the spirit of his father, and collecting his followers, at the head of a dauntless but small body, drove back the enemy. But the incapacity of the earl

of Mar, who in the doubtful light of the dawning bore down in a confused mass without rule or order, overwhelmed instead of supporting Randolph and his little body of brave adherents. Opposition ended, the rout became totally irretrievable, and the swords of the enemy were blunted with slaughter. The loss of the Scottish army, much of which was occasioned by their being trodden down and stifled in their own disordered ranks, was about thirteen thousand men, being more than four times the entire amount of the army of Baliol.

After the battle of Dupplin the invaders took possession of Perth without opposition. The fortifications of the place having been destroyed by Bruce, according to his usual policy, it was hastily protected with some palisades by its new masters. They were busied in this task when the southern army, led by the earl of March, as before mentioned, was seen approaching the place. The English apprehended an instant, and, probably, an effectual assault. But when Beaumont saw the advancing banners halt on the high ground in the vicinity of the town, "Have no fear of these men," said the English lord, "we have friends among them." This was shortly after made apparent, by the retreat of the earl of March, acting, it was supposed, in concert with the invader. An unsuccessful at-

tempt was made on the fleet of the disinherited which had coasted Fife, and was lying in the Tay, by Crab, the Flemish engineer, who defended Berwick in the former reign. He succeeded in taking a fine vessel, called the Beaumont's cogue, but was defeated in his attempt on the others, and obliged to fly to Berwick.

The earl of March led back and dispersed his army, and afterwards showed his real sentiments by acceding once more to the English interest. It was not, however, till the Scots lost the battle of Halidon Hill, that this powerful earl and other barons on the eastern marches of Scotland, who had late and unwillingly exchanged their allegiance to England for that to the Bruce, were, now that the constraint imposed by his authority was removed, desirous of returning to their dependence on the English crown, which they found, probably, more nominal than that exacted by their closer neighbours, the Scottish monarchs.

The foreign invasion having thus succeeded, though made on a scale wonderfully in contrast with the extent of the means prepared, the domestic conspiracy was made manifest. The family of Comyn in all its branches, all who resented the proceedings against David de Brechin and the other conspirators condemned by the black parliament; all who had suffered injury, or what they termed such, in the disturbed and

violent times, when so much evil was inflicted and suffered on both sides; all, finally, who nourished ambitious projects of rising under the new government, or had incurred neglect during the old one, joined in conducting Edward Balliol to Scone, where he was crowned king in their presence, when (grief and shame to tell!) Sinclair, prelate of Dunkeld, whom the Bruce on account of his gallantry termed his own bishop, officiated at the ceremony of crowning an usurper, to the prejudice of his heroic patron's son.

However marvellous or mortifying this revolution certainly was, it was of a nature far more temporary than that which was effected by Edward I. after the battle of Falkirk. Then all seemed hopeless; and if some patriots still resisted, it was more in desperation than hope of success. Then, though there was a desire to destroy the English yoke, yet there was no agreement or common purpose as to the monarch or mode of government to be substituted. Now there was no room for hesitation. The sound part of the kingdom, which was by far the larger portion, was fixed in the unanimous and steady resolution to replace upon the throne the race of the deliverer of Scotland. And the faith of those who adopted this generous resolution, although not uniformly unchangeable, was yet, as already

mentioned, constancy itself, contrasted with the vacillations of former times.

Edward Baliol, in temporary possession of the Scottish crown, speedily showed his unworthiness to wear it. He hastened to the border, to which Edward III. was now advancing, with an army, to claim the Lion's share among the disinherited barons, to whom he had afforded private countenance in their undertaking, and whose ultimate success was finally to depend upon his aid. Unwarned by his father's evil fortune, Edward Baliol renewed in all form the subjugation of the kingdom of Scotland, took on himself the feudal fetters which even his father had found it too degrading to endure, and became bound, under an enormous penalty, to serve king Edward in his wars, he himself with two hundred, and his successors with one hundred men at arms, and to extend and strengthen the English frontiers by the cession of Berwick, and lands to the annual amount of two thousand pounds.

Having made this mean bargain with the king of England, and thereby, as he thought, secured himself the powerful assistance of that nation, Baliol was lying carelessly encamped at Annan, when he was surprised by a body of royalist horse, which had assembled at Moffat, and among whose leaders we find a young Randolph, second son of the regent, and brother to him who fell

at Dupplin, an Archibald Douglas, brother to the good lord James, a Simon Fraser, and others, whose names remind us of the wars of king Robert. Henry Baliol, brother of the intrusive king, was slain fighting bravely in his defence; many others of his followers were killed or made prisoners, and Edward himself was fain to escape to the English borders almost naked. Thus was Edward Baliol an exile and a fugitive, having scarcely possessed his usurped crown for three months.

Meantime the royalists had found a trustworthy leader in sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. In his youth he had been the companion of Wallace, and afterwards the faithful follower of Bruce, who acknowledged his attachment by preferring him to the hand of his sister Christina, a widow, by the death of the heroic Christopher Seaton. Sir Andrew Moray was a soldier of the Bruce's school, calm, sagacious, and dauntlessly brave. His first measure of importance was to remove the persons of the young king and queen to France, where the faith of Philip was engaged for their safety and honourable maintenance. His next undertaking was less fortunate. He made an attempt to take by surprise the castle of Roxburgh, into which Baliol had then thrown himself, and imprudently engaged his own person in the dangerous enterprise. Seeing a valiant

esquire in his service, named Ralph Golding, endangered during the assault by a superior number of English, sir Andrew pressed forward to his rescue, and was made prisoner, to the infinite prejudice of the royal cause; his place being poorly supplied by Archibald Douglas, although a brave soldier, and brother to the good lord James. It was a great additional misfortune, that a short time after, in a severe battle which was fought on the borders, the knight of Liddisdale (sir William Douglas, natural son of the good lord James) was defeated in a considerable action, and made prisoner. He was treated with great rigour, and detained captive for two years. Thus was Scotland deprived, in her hour of utmost need, of two more of her choicest soldiers.

Edward III. now prepared (May, 1333.) to assist his vassal Baliol, and, assembling a large army, came before Berwick, the securing of which place the Scots deemed justly an object of primary consequence, since Baliol had consented to surrender it to England. The earl of March, whose apostasy was not yet suspected, was governor of the castle of Berwick, and sir Alexander Seaton of the town. They defended the place strenuously, and burnt a large vessel with which the English assaulted the walls from the sea. But the garrison were reduced to such

distress, that they were compelled, according to the custom of the time, to agree to surrender, if not relieved by a certain day, and hostages were delivered to that effect, the son of Seaton the governor being one. Before the time appointed the numerous army of Scotland appeared in sight of Berwick, and succeeded in throwing some knights and soldiers into the place. One of the former, sir William Keith, assumed the command of the town.

But the caution of the English, who kept within their trenches and refused a general action, prevented the relief from accomplishing the raising of the siege. In order to effect this object, Douglas, imitating the policy of the Bruce in the like circumstances, entered Northumberland, and committed ravages, threatening to attack the castle of Bamborough, where the young English queen, Philippa, was at that time residing. But the strength of Bamborough defied a siege, and the regent presently received tidings from Berwick, announcing that the place being reduced to extremity, king Edward had summoned the garrison to surrender, upon the treaty formerly entered into. They refused, alleging that they had received relief and reinforcements. The English king insisted that the succours thrown in not being sufficiently effectual to raise the siege, they were bound to yield up the place

just as much as if they had not been relieved at all; and he summoned them to absolute surrender, on the pain of putting to death the hostages. The Scottish historians say, that Edward actually did put young Seaton to death, within such short distance, that his father might see the execution from the walls. *) But there is some obscurity resting on this cruel anecdote. Certain it is, that the citizens of Berwick, anxious for the fate of their own children, who were also among the number of hostages, became desirous to surrender, and refused any longer to defend the place. A second negotiation was entered into, whereby it was agreed that Berwick should be unconditionally surrendered, unless the Scots could succeed in reinforcing the town with two hundred men at arms, or defeating the English in a pitched battle under its walls.

Forgetting or disregarding the earnest admonition of king Robert, the regent Douglas resolved to commit the fate of the country to the risk of a decisive conflict. On crossing the Tweed and approaching Berwick on the north-

*) Compare Mr. Tytler's History, vol. ii. p. 31. and illustrations in the Appendix, with lord Hailes' Essay on the express subject.

ern side (June 19.), the Scottish regent became aware of the army of England drawn up in four great battalions, with numerous bodies of archers to flank them. The ground which they occupied was the crest of an eminence called Halidon-hill. The Scots stationed themselves on the opposite ridge of high ground: the bottom which divided the hills was a morass. On the morning of the 20th, the Scots, with inconsiderate impetuosity, advanced to the onset. By doing so they exposed their whole army, whilst descending the hill and crossing the morass, to the constant and formidable discharge of the English archers, against whom they had no similar force to oppose. The inevitable consequence was, that they lost their ranks, and became embarrassed in the morass, where many were slain. But the nobles, who fought on foot in complete armour at the head of their followers, made a desperate effort to lead a great part of the army through the bog, and ascended the opposite hill. They came to close battle with the English, who, calm and in perfect order, were not long in repulsing an attack made by disordered ranks and breathless soldiers. The Scottish, finding their efforts vain, endeavoured to retreat. In the mean time the pages and camp-followers, who held the horses of the combatants, seeing the battle lost, began

to fly, and carry off the horses along with them, without respect to the safety of their masters; so that the carnage in this bloody battle was very great, and numbers of the gentry and nobility fell.

The venerable earl of Lennox, the faithful companion of Robert Bruce, the earls of Ross, Carrick, Sutherland, Monteith, and Athol, were all slain, together with knights and barons to a countless number, and all with a trifling loss on the part of the English. The regent, Douglas himself, wounded and made prisoner, died soon after he was taken. Berwick surrendered in consequence of this decisive action, and the earl of March, governor of the castle, returned openly to the English interest, and was admitted to Edward's favour and confidence.

The Scots had suffered a loss in this action which was deemed by the English totally irrecoverable. "The Scottish wars are ended," said the public voice, "since no one of that nation remains having interest enough to raise an army, or skill sufficient to command one."

Through all Scotland, so lately the undisputed dominions of the Bruce, only four castles and a strong tower which did not reach to the importance of such a title, remained in possession of the royalists who adhered to his unfortunate son. These were, the impregnable fortresses of Dun-

barton, which was secured by Malcolm Fleming; Lochleven, on an island in the lake of that name, defended by Alan de Vipont, Urquhart in Inverness, commanded by Thomas Lander; and Kildrummie, by Christina, the sister of king Robert Bruce, successively the widow of the earl of Mar and of Christopher Seaton, and now the wife of the imprisoned sir Andrew Moray. The fifth strong hold was at Lochdown, in Carrick, which John Thomson, a man of obscure birth and dauntless valour, the same apparently who led back from Ireland the shattered remainder of Edward Bruce's army, held out for his rightful sovereign.

Amid this scene of apparent submission, (1333.) Edward Baliol held a mock parliament at Edinburgh (1334.) for the gratification of his ally, the king of England. The obligation of homage and feudal service to the king of England was undertaken by Edward Baliol in the fullest extent; the town of Berwick was given up; and as king Edward was desirous to hold a large portion of Scotland under his immediate and direct authority, Baliol, by a solemn instrument, made an absolute surrender to England of the frontier provinces of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peebleshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with Lothian itself, in all its three divisions, thus yielding up the whole land

between the northern and southern Roman rampart, and restricting Scotland to the possessions beyond the estuaries of Forth and Clyde, inhabited of old by the free Caledonians. For the remnants of the kingdom, thus mutilated and dismembered, Baliol paid homage. At the same parliament Baliol by ample cessions and distributions of territory, gratified the disinherited lords, to whose valour he owed his extraordinary success.

A quarrel arose amongst these proud barons which had important consequences. The brother of Alexander de Mowbray died leaving daughters, but no male issue. Baliol preferred the brother of the deceased to his fiefs, as the heir male. Henry de Beaumont and David Hastings de Strathbogie, earls of Buchan and Athol, espoused the cause of the female heirs; and as Baliol would not listen to them, they left the court in that state of irritation which is easily excited betwixt such powerful subjects and a king of their own making. Alarmed at their defection, Baliol altered his decision, dismissed Alexander de Mowbray's claim, and thereby made him his mortal enemy, while he obtained only a dubious reconciliation with his opponents.

About this time sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, made prisoner, as we have seen, at Roxburgh, escaped or was liberated from prison;

and his appearance in Scotland, with the discord among the English barons, was a signal for a general insurrection of the royalists. Moray was joined by the discontented Mowbray. Richard Talbot, marching southward, was attacked and defeated by William Keith of Galston, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, with his new ally, Mowbray, besieged the powerful Henry de Beaumont in his fortress of Dundearg in Buchan, and by cutting off the supplies of water compelled him to surrender, and put him to great ransom. The impulse became general through Scotland. The Brandanes or men of Bute arose against the English captain, slew him, and sent his head to their master, the steward of Scotland. In Anandale and in Ayrshire, where Bruce had his family estates, the royalists gathered on every side. The steward had distinguished himself by his bravery and generosity of disposition. By universal approbation of the royalists this gallant and amiable young man was associated in the regency. The young earl of Moray, son of the heroic Randolph, was returned from France, whither he had fled after the battle of Halidon-hill, and pushed David Hastings of Strathbogie so hard, that he not only compelled him to surrender, but found means to induce him to join the conqueror. Baliol, having seen the de-

feat of Talbot, the captivity of Beaumont, and the defection of the three most powerful of the *disinherited*, lost courage, and fled into England, thereby showing plainly how slight was his reliance on any support save such as came from that kingdom, and how steadily the great bulk of the Scottish nation were attached to the legitimate heir of Bruce.

Edward III. advanced (Nov. 1334.) into Scotland for the double purpose of sustaining his vassal, and of securing those southern parts of Scotland which were ceded to him in property and full dominion. He met no opposition, for the Scots brought no army to the field; but he was assailed by want, and the stormy weather incident to the season; and so little was Edward's reputation raised by this incursion, that the earl of March, a nobleman uniformly guided by his own interest, chose that very crisis to renounce the allegiance of England. This time-serving baron probably foresaw the danger of his own power, since it was not likely that Edward would permit him to hold influence in a country which he was desirous in future of annexing to England, although he had little cared how loose the earl's uncontrolled allegiance sate on him while he was a vassal of Scotland.

Alan de Vipont, a Scottish royalist, who defended Lochleven castle against the English, is

said about this time to have been pressed hard by a John de Stirling, a Scottishman apparently, but commanding an army for Baliol; the garrison was straitened by a fort in the churchyard at Kinross; and it is alleged, by an embankment drawn across the source of the river Leven, where it issues from the lake, the purpose of which was, to lay under water the island and castle, and thereby to make surrender inevitable. But Vipont took the opportunity of a cloudy night to send a boat unperceived down the lake, and cut through the embankment. The accumulated waters broke down in a furious inundation, which swept away the mound, and along with it the enemies who were quartered there for its defence. There are certainly some vestiges, at the exit of the Leven from the lake, which seem to confirm this singular tradition. Some historians only mention the destruction of the English fort by a sally from the garrison, without speaking of the embankment or inundation.

The chiefs of the loyal Scots now assembled a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife (Apr. 1335.), in order to settle upon a combined plan of operations for the liberation of the country. But their counsels came to no useful or steady result, chiefly owing to the presumption of David de Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who assumed a species

of superiority which the Scottish nobles could not endure. The parliament broke up in great disorder. It may be that this discord was attended with some consequences indirectly advantageous to Scotland. As the parliament could not agree upon raising a large army, they could not commit the imprudence of risking a general action.

In the summer succeeding (July, 1. 1335.), Edward again invaded Scotland on the east marches; while Baliol, with a body of Welsh troops and foreigners, entered on the west. They laid waste the country with fire and sword with emulous severity. The Scots kept king Robert's testament in recollection; and lurking among the woods and valleys, they fell by surprise upon such English as separated themselves from the main body, or straggled from the march in their thirst for plunder.

In the end of July, a large body of Flemish men at arms landed at Berwick, in the capacity of auxiliaries to England. These strangers, commanded by Guy count of Namur, conceiving the country entirely undefended, advanced fearlessly to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. Count Guy had scarce arrived there when an army of Scottish royalists, commanded by the earls of Moray and March and sir Alexander Ramsay, attacked him.

The battle took place on the Borough Moor, and was fiercely disputed for some time: till the knight of Liddisdale, who had escaped or been released from his English captivity, swept down from the Pentland hills, and turned the scale of battle. The Flemings retired into the city, and fought their way as they retreated up to the hill where the castle lay in ruins. A close encounter took place during the whole way, and tradition long pointed out the spot at the foot of the Bow, where David de Annand, a Scottish knight of superhuman strength, struck down with his battle-axe one of these mailed foreigners killing horse and man, and schattering a huge flagstone in the pavement, by a single blow. The Flemings erected a breastwork or fortification on the Castle-hill by killing their horses, and making a barricade of the carcasses. This, however, could be but a temporary resource, and they were speedily obliged to capitulate. The Scots treated their valiant prisoners with much courtesy, releasing them on their parole not to fight against David, and sending an escort to see the foreigners safe into England. Unhappily, the regent earl of Moray went himself with the party, and on his return towards Lothian, after dismissing the Flemings, was attacked by William de Pressen, commander of the English garrison of Jedburgh castle, his followers routed,

and himself made prisoner, and thrown into Bamborough castle. Thus the services of the worthy successor of Randolph were, for a time, lost to his country. The English continued their ravages, and with such success that men were reduced to use that sort of lip-homage which the heart refuses. "If you asked a grown up person," says an old historian, "who was his king, he dared make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol; while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with the name of David Bruce."

Scotland being in this low condition, and Edward having exercised such means of subduing the spirit of insurrection as could be brought against a disposition which showed itself every where, but was tangible nowhere, the English king began to think of returning to his own kingdom. But previously he received the submission of the versatile earl of Athol, restored to that powerful nobleman his large English estates, and named him regent or governor of Scotland under Baliol. The steward, over whom this David de Strathbogie seems to have possessed but too much influence, was also induced, contrary to his interests, as nearly concerned in the succession, to acknowledge Baliol as his sovereign. After fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, Edward the third returned to his own dominions.

The irresistible pressure of immediate superiority of force being once more removed, the spirit of determined resistance began again to manifest itself. The Scottish loyalists once more chose for their head sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the friend of Wallace, the brother-in-law of Bruce. Athol, eager to give himself consequence in the eyes of Edward, and obliterate the recollection of his prior tergiversations, had determined to besiege the castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire, the residence of Christina, the sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of sir Andrew Moray. Moray, joined by the earl of March and the knight of Liddisdale, flew to the relief of the place. They assembled about fifteen hundred followers, partly men of Lothian and Berwickshire, partly from the territory of Kildrummie. They came suddenly on the earl of Athol, then lying in the forest of Kilblain, whose troops, suddenly and fiercely attacked in a species of pass, gave way on all sides. The earl of Athol was steady in personal courage, though fickle in political attachment: he looked round with scorn on his fugitive followers, and striking his hand on a huge rock which lay near him said, "Thou and I will this day fly together." Five knights of his household abode, fought, and fell with him, refusing all quarter. The death of the earl of Athol was considered by the loyalists as a most

favourable event, as his power, and latterly his inclination also, made him a sworn persecutor of their party.

Edward himself advanced to avenge the death of a powerful, if not a steady, partisan. He led into Scotland a numerous army, which wasted the country as far north as Inverness. But though he was an enemy skilful to omit no advantage which accident, the situation of ground, or the circumstances of weather afford, yet, in the far-sighted prudence of the experienced sir Andrew Moray, Edward III. found a complete match for his youthful ardour, and was no more able to bring his sagacious opponent to action than he had been to engage Douglas and Randolph in the Northumbrian campaign of 1227. The following instance of Moray's skill, courage, and discipline may give some idea of the composure with which he baffled the ardent valour of the hero of Cressy.

When at Perth, Edward was informed that the Scottish regent was lying with his forces in the forest of Stronkaltire (probably a portion of the famous wood of Birnam), near the foot of the Grampians, and on the verge of the Highlands. The most skilful dispositions were made by the king to surround the enemy, and the English had already moved several divisions on different parts of the forest with a view to prevent their escape. Sir Andrew Moray was hearing mass in a

chapel in the forest when the Scottish scouts came to tell him of the approach of the enemy. He caused them to be silent till the divine service was finished. Mass being ended, his breathless messengers informed him that the English were at hand. "Be it so," said Moray; "no need of hurry." He then armed himself deliberately, and caused his war-horse to be brought him. When in the act of mounting, he perceived a girth had failed. With the utmost deliberation the veteran warrior called for a certain coffer, out of which he took a hide of leather, and having cut from it a strap proper for the purpose, sitting down on the bank, he composedly mended the girth with his own hands, although, to the great anxiety of all around him, news came in on all hands of the close approach of the enemy from different points; and old warriors, who were present, confessed to the historian, Winton, prior of Lochleven, that in their life they had never passed such anxious moments as during the mending of that saddle-girth. But Moray knew his time and his business, and when he mounted and placed himself at the head of his men, whom his own composure had taught to have the most undoubting reliance on him, he drew them up in a close column, and while the English sought an opportunity of attack, he led his band leisurely, from their presence, and

vanished in safety through a defile which he had kept open in his rear.

Edward III. penetrated as far as the rich province of Moray, carrying devastation wherever he came. But he had then done the utmost which was in his power, and was compelled to retreat by the consequences to his own army of the very desolation which they themselves had made. He repaired the castles held by English garrisons through the kingdom, and marched back to England, leaving Scotland apparently quiet. But no sooner was the weight and presence of the English host withdrawn than all the Scottish patriots were again in arms in every quarter of the country, assaulting and storming, or surprising by stratagem, the garrisons that had been left to overawe them, and proving that they were worthy to have been subjects of the Bruce, by the intelligence with which they executed his precepts. The regent distinguished himself in this war as much by his alertness in seizing opportunities of advantage, as he had done when opposed to Edward by the prudence which affords none to the enemy.

In the mean time war broke out between France and England. On the 7th of October, 1387, king Edward publicly asserted his claim to the throne of that kingdom; yet, with this new and more dazzling object in his view, he

did not turn his eyes from the conquest of Scotland. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Norfolk were intrusted with the command of the northern army, and the former laid siege to the strong castle of Dunbar, defended, in the absence of the earl of March, by his wife, the daughter of the heroic Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and animated by a portion of his courage. This lady, whom the common people used to call Black Agnes of Dunbar, was one of those, by whose encouragement, according to a phrase of Froissart, a man may become of double strength in the hour of danger. She daily made the round of the walls in sight of besiegers and besieged, and caused the maidens of her train to wipe the battlements with their handkerchiefs, when the stones from the engines struck them, as if in scorn of the English artillery. At one time, by engaging him in a pretended plot to receive surrender of the castle from a traitorous party within, she had well nigh made the earl of Salisbury her prisoner. On another occasion, an arrow shot by an archer of her train struck to the heart an English knight, in spite of his being completely armed. "There goes one of my lady's tiring pins," said Montague, earl of Salisbury: "the countess's love-shafts pierce to the heart." At another time, the English advancing to the walls the machine called a sow

(mentioned in the account of the siege of Berwick, p. 125.), Agnes called out to the English lord in a sort of rhyme,

«Beware Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow.»*)

A huge rock, prepared for the occasion, was projected against the sow, and dashed the engine to pieces. The English general, having exhausted the invention of his engineers to no purpose, resolved to convert the siege into a blockade, and reduce Dunbar by famine. As he had a considerable fleet, he might have succeeded in his purpose; but the good knight, sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey, contrived, by means of a light vessel and a dark night, to throw into the castle a supply of provisions and soldiers. This was announced to the besiegers by a sally; and they were so much disheartened as to raise the siege, which had lasted five months, and retire from before Dunbar with little honour.

Similar advantages were gained by the patriots all through Scotland. The state, indeed, sustained

*) The poetry may be original, but not the jest, the latter having been used on a similar occasion at the siege of Berwick, in 1319, when it was defended by the Steward of Scotland against the English.

a heavy loss in the death of sir Andrew Moray, the regent, who, after all his battles and dangers, expired in peace at his castle of Avoch, in Ross. Brother-in-law of the Bruce, and one of the last of his leaders, he evinced till his dying day the spirit of valour, sagacity, and patriotism which merited that distinguished alliance. He is censured for the desolating and wasteful warfare which he carried on; but it must be remembered, that to burn the open country before the enemy was a principal maxim in Bruce's dreadful lessons of defensive war.

The steward of Scotland, freed from the baneful influence which the Anglicised earl of Athol had exercised over him, was now chosen sole regent, and showed himself worthy of the trust. He commenced the siege of Perth, assisted by five ships of war and some men at arms, which were sent from France. The regent was assisted in pressing this siege by the abilities of William Bullock, an ecclesiastic who loved the battlefield or the political scenes of the cabinet better than mass or matins. Edward Baliol, who knew Bullock's abilities, had raised him to be his chancellor of Scotland and made him governor of a strong castle in Cupar. But when Edwards presence with an army failed to establish Baliol's power in Scotland, this military churchman became sagacious of an approaching change, stub-

born fidelity being by no means the virtue of the day. His talents were employed by the regent in pressing on the siege of Stirling, which was boldly defended. He showed the hardihood of his character during a total eclipse of the sun, which took place in the midst of his operations. While all others, both in the besieging army and garrison, were sinking under their superstitious fears, Bullock took advantage of the darkness to wheel his military engines so close to the wall, that when the sunshine returned, the besieged found themselves under the necessity of surrendering. The steward was equally successful in reducing Stirling and other English posts to the north of the Forth, and bringing the whole country to the peace of king David.

Other Scottish leaders distinguished themselves in different provinces. Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddisdale, was active in the south of Scotland. He totally expelled the English from Teviotdale, reduced the strong castle of Hermitage, defeated Roland de Vaux, and having engaged sir Lawrence Abernethy, an Anglicised Scotsman, three times in one day, finally overcame him in a fourth encounter, made him prisoner, and dispersed his followers. A still more important acquisition on the Scottish part was that of Edinburgh castle, which Edward III. had fortified when in Scotland during his last campaign.

The knight of Liddisdale engaged a sturdy mariner, called John Currie, to receive into his bark a number of proved soldiers. John Currie, assuming the character of an English shipmaster, entered the castle with a number of men disguised in mariners' caps and habits, and bearing barrels and hampers supposed to contain wine and provisions: these they threw down in the gateway, so as to prevent the gates being shut, and, drawing their swords, rushed on the sentinels, and being seconded by the knight of Liddisdale and some chosen men who lay in ambush near the entrance, they overpowered the English garrison, and expelled them from the castle.

Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey, the same who gallantly relieved the castle of Dunbar, yielded to none of the champions whom we have named in devotion to the cause of his country. As his own estates and influence lay in Lothian and near Edinburgh, he was wont, even when the English were in possession of the capital, to reside with a strong band of soldiers among the crags, glens, and caverns of the romantic vicinity of Roslin. From thence he sallied forth to annoy the English, on whom, according to the phrase of the times, he did great vassalage. He often rode into Northumberland, committed destructive forays, and returned safe to his impreg-

nable retreat. His fame for chivalry was so high, that no Scottish youth of that neighbourhood was held worthy of esteem unless he had proved his gallantry by riding for some time in Ramsay's band.

By the achievements of these brave men the English force was so much weakened throughout Scotland, and the government of the legal monarch so completely restored, that it was thought advisable that king David and his consort should return from France to their own kingdom. They landed at the small port of Inverbervie in Kincardineshire in the month of May, 1341.

In the same spring sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsay added to his long list of services the important acquisition of the castle of Roxburgh, which, according to the desperate fashion of the times, he took by escalade.

Unhappily, the mode which the young and inexperienced king took to reward this gallant action proved fatal to the brave knight by whom it was achieved. David conferred on Ramsay the sherifffdom of Roxburgh as a fitting distinction to one who had taken the principal fortress of the county. The knight of Liddisdale, who had large possessions in Roxburghshire, and pretensions by his services to the sherifffdom, was deeply offended by the preference given to Ramsay. From being sir Alexander's friend and companion

in arms, he became his mortal enemy, and nothing less than his death would appease the rancour of his hatred. He came upon sir Alexander Ramsay, accompanied with an armed force, while he was exercising justice at Hawick, dispersed his few attendants, wounded him while on the bench of justice, threw him on a horse, and through many a wild bog and mountain path carried him to his solitary and desolate castle of the Hermitage, where he cast him into the dungeon of that lonely and darksome fortress. The noble captive was left with his rankling wounds to struggle with thirst and hunger, supporting for some time a miserable existence by means of grain which fell from a granary above, until death relieved him from suffering.

The most disgraceful part of this hideous story remains to be told. David, whose favour, imprudently evinced, had caused the murder of the noble Ramsay, saw himself obliged, by the weakness of his government and the pressure of the disorderly times, not only to pardon the inhuman assassin, but to grace him with the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, which the valour of his murdered victim had won from the enemy, and the sheriffdom of the county, which was rendered vacant by his murder. It is scarce possible to give a more deplorable instance of those wretched times, in which the great stood

above all law, human and divine, and indulged their furious passions not only with impunity but with an enlarged scope to their ambition. Neither was the act of cruelty attended with any blot upon his fame, since the knight of Liddisdale, who, before Ramsay's murder, had been distinguished by the splendid title of the Flower of Chivalry, continued to retain it after that atrocious transaction.

A fate similar to that of Ramsay was sustained by a victim less deserving of pity. Bullock, the fighting ecclesiastic, who had deserted the standards of England for those of Scotland, and had taken so great a share in the reduction of Perth, was suddenly, by the royal order, seized on by sir David Berkeley, thrown into the castle of Lochendorb in Morayshire, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death. A Scottish historian makes this melancholy remark on his fate: "It is an ancient saying, that neither the powerful, nor the valiant, nor the wise long flourish in Scotland, since envy obtaineth the mastery of them all."

In the meanwhile the war of the contending nations disturbed the frontiers with mutual incursions, which added much to public misery, though they did little towards the decision of the war; and casting our eyes back on the consequences of continued hostilities of the most

desolating nature, we see effects so frightful as if God and man had alike determined upon the total destruction of the country.

Betwixt the desultory ravages of the English and those exercised upon system by the Scottish leaders, all the regular practice of agriculture was interrupted year after year, and the produce in a great measure destroyed. A great famine was the consequence; the land that once bore crops was left uncultivated, waste, and overgrown with briars and thickets, while wolves and wild deer approached, contrary to their nature, the dwellings of man. The starving sufferers were compelled to feed on substances most abhorrent to human appetite; and one wretch, called Christian Cleik, with his wife, subsisted on the flesh of children whom they caught in traps and devoured. These wretched cannibals were detected, condemned, and burned to death.

Famine, and the wretched shifts by which men strove to avoid its rage, brought on disease, their natural consequence. A pestilence swept the land, and destroyed many of the enfeebled inhabitants, while others emigrated to France and Flanders, forsaking a country on which it seemed to have pleased Heaven to empty the bitterest vials of its wrath. And the termination of these misfortunes was far distant.

CHAPTER VIII.

King David's character. — Invasion of England. Battle of Durham. — The border counties are conquered. — The Steward defends the country beyond the Forth; And Douglas recovers Ettricke forest and Teviotdale. — A Truce with England. — David II. Recognises the supremacy of Edward: but his subjects refuse to do so. — The knight of Liddisdale seduced from his allegiance: slain by his godson, Lord Douglas. — Treaty for the king's ransom is broken off by the interference of France. — Battle of Nesbit-Moor. — Attempt on Berwick, which is relieved by Edward III. — He invades Scotland. — The burnt candlemas. — The English are compelled to retreat. — King David is released from captivity. — His petulant temper. — His repeated visits to England, and the influence acquired over him by Edward. — He proposes that the succession of Scotland should go to Edward's son Lionel. — The Scottish parliament reject the proposal. — Insurrection of the Steward and other nobles: it is subdued, and tranquillity restored. — New scheme of Edward and David, which

is laid aside as impracticable. — David II. marries Catherine Logie, a beautiful plebeian. — Treaty of peace interrupted by difficulties about the king's ransom, which are finally removed. — Divorce betwixt David and his queen. — Death of David II. — His character. — State of Scotland during his reign.

DAVID the second was, as might be expected from the son of Robert Bruce, dauntlessly intrepid. He possessed a goodly person (a strong recommendation to the common people), and skill in martial exercises. But his education at the court of France had given him an uncontrollable love of pleasure; and such a propensity, while it resolves itself into the principle of intense selfishness, forms the very reverse of the public-spirited and disinterested character of a patriot king. He was young also, being only about eighteen when he landed at Inverbervie, and totally inexperienced. Such was the situation and disposition of the juvenile king of a country at once assailed by foreign war with an enemy of superior force, by civil faction and discord in its most frightful shape, by raging pestilence and wasting famine. It was only the additional curse of a weak and imprudent prince

that could have added fresh gall to so much bitterness.

The ablest and most trust-worthy counsellor whom David could have consulted was unquestionably the steward, who had held the regency till he resigned it on the king's arrival. But, failing heirs of David's body, of which none as yet existed, the steward was heir of the throne, and princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors when not of their own immediate family.

As Edward was absent in France, the time had seemed favourable for an attack upon the frontiers. Several attempts were made without decisive success on either side, which led to a truce of two years, ending on Martinmas 1346. This cessation of arms was made between England and France, and Scotland was included. David and his subjects, however, became weary of the truce, which was broken off by a fierce incursion of the knight of Liddisdale into England. In 1344 David prepared for an invasion upon a much larger scale, and summoned the whole array of Scotland, whether highland or lowland, to assemble at Perth. They came in great numbers, and Reginald or Ranald of the isles, in particular, appeared with a strong body of his followers. Unhappily there was a deadly feud betwixt this island lord and the powerful

earl of Ross. By the machinations of the latter chief, Reginald was murdered by a faithless harper, while in the monastery of Elcho, near Perth. The assassin, with his numerous followers, retired from the king's host for fear of punishment. The men of the isles, disgusted with the loss of their lord, and apprehensive of evil consequences, broke up, and, deserting the royal standard, retired home in disorder, leaving the king's army much diminished in numbers. David, however, determined to proceed on his expedition.

He entered England from the western frontier. A fortress called the Moat of Liddell was held out stoutly by Walter Selby, the accomplice of the famous Middleton in the spoliation of the two cardinals and bishop elect of Durham, and various other acts of robbery. At present he seems to have been engaged in the lawful defence of England, his native country; and we are, therefore, startled when we learn that the fortress being stormed, the governor was by king David ordered to be beheaded; for what crime against that prince is not apparent.

Moving eastward to Hexham, David's army marked its progress by the usual course of ferocious devastation, the more censured in that age, because the patrimony of Saint Cuthbert experienced no favour or protection. The great

northern barons of England, Percy and Neville, Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, assembled their forces in numbers sufficient to show that, though the conqueror of Cressy with his victorious army was absent in France, there were Englishmen enough left at home to protect the frontiers of his kingdom from violation. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, the prelates of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, sent their retainers, and attended the rendezvous in person to add religious enthusiasm to the patriotic zeal of the barons. Ten thousand soldiers, who had been sent over to Calais to reinforce Edward the third's army, were countermanded in this exigency, and added to the northern army.

Upon hearing of this formidable assembly of forces, the knight of Liddisdale advised the Scottish king to retreat, and avoid a pitched battle. But the other barons, conceiving they saw a rich scene of plunder before them, would not listen to this counsel, which they imputed to the selfishness of Douglas, who, having enriched himself by English spoils, was now desirous, they thought, to abridge the opportunity of others to obtain their share. King David advanced to the park called Beaurepaire, near Durham (by corruption Bear-park), and took up his quarters there, although the ground was intersected by inclosures as to render it

difficult to draw up the troops in order, and impossible for the divisions duly to support each other.

The knight of Liddisdale had advanced, on the morning of the 17th October (1346.), with four hundred men at arms, to collect forage and provisions, when, at Ferry on the Hill, he unexpectedly found himself in presence of the whole English army, then on their march from Bishop Auckland, where they had assembled, towards Sunderland. His forces being totally inadequate to make a stand, the Scottish commander endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to retreat. He was attacked, charged, routed, and suffered great loss. He and the remains of his division had but time to gallop into the Scottish camp and give the alarm, when the enemy were upon them.

The Scottish army was hastily drawn up in three divisions, as well as the broken and subdivided nature of the ground permitted. The right was commanded by the earl of Moray; the centre by the king in person; the left by the knight of Liddisdale, the steward of Scotland, and the earl of Dunbar. This arrangement was hardly accomplished ere the English archers, to the number of ten thousand, came within sight. An experienced commander, sir John de Graham, foreseeing the fatal conse-

quences which were to ensue, entreated the king to permit him to charge the archers with a body of cavalry. "Give me," he said, "but one hundred horse; I will be answerable for riding them down, and dispersing them." "But, to speak truth," says the old historian Fordun, "de Graham could not obtain a single horseman." The reason might be, that the loss at Ferry-hill, that same morning, had fallen chiefly on the Scottish men at arms, and that they had been thus rendered to a great degree unserviceable; but it is more generally attributed to the caprice and wilfulness of the young king. Graham attempted with his own followers to make the desired manœuvre; but being far too few to make the necessary impression on the archers, they were beaten off, and himself escaped with difficulty. The unerring shower of arrows then commenced, and flew without intermission against the Scots as thick as hail, and they were at the same time charged by the men at arms and bill-men. The numerous inclosures cramped and interrupted their system of defence, and at length the right wing, under the earl of Moray, began to fly. The English cavalry broke down on them, and completed the rout. They were thrown into complete disorder and then flight, which afforded the English an opportunity to attack the division

of the king at once upon the left flank, now uncovered, and on the front. Amid repeated charges, and the most dispiriting slaughter by the continuous discharge of the English arrows, David showed that he had the courage though not the talents of his father. He was twice severely wounded with arrows, but continued to encourage to the last the few of his peers and officers who were still fighting around him. At length, in a close *mêlée*, a Northumberland knight, named Copland, grappled with David, and made him prisoner, but not before the king had struck out two of Copland's front teeth with his gauntlet.

On the fall of the royal banner, the steward and the earl of March, who had not as yet sustained much loss, despairing of being able to aid the king or restore the battle, withdrew from the field in tolerable order, and carried their division and such as rallied under their standards back into Scotland. David II., it has been thought, considered this retreat as resembling a desertion, the more suspicious, as the next heir to the crown was at its head. The captive king was conveyed to London, and afterwards, in solemn procession, to the Tower, attended by a guard of twenty thousand men, and all the city com-

panies in complete pageantry. There were made prisoners with David Bruce the earls of Fife, Monteith, and Wigton, as also the knight of Liddisdale, who apparently had put himself into that predicament by his advancing to support the king, since he might otherwise have retreated with the steward and the earl of March, whose command he shared. About fifty barons had the same fate.

There remained slain on the fatal field of Neville's Cross the earls of Moray and Stratherne, David de la Hay, the high constable of Scotland, Robert Keith the great marshal, the chamberlain, and the chancellor, with very many men of rank. Of the lower classes, at least fifteen thousand are computed to have fallen.

The nation of Scotland was but beginning to draw its breath after its unparalleled sufferings during the civil war, when it was, to all appearance, totally prostrated by the blow to which David had imprudently exposed his realm. The whole border counties of Scotland surrendered themselves without attempting an unavailing defence. The line of the frontiers was

carried northward to the southern borders of Lothian, and extended betwixt Colbrand's Path and the Soltra hills, and was afterwards pushed still farther north, for it finally ran betwixt Carlops and Crosscryne.

The king of England abused his victory by cruelty. He brought two of his noble captives, the earls of Monteith, and Duncan earl of Fife, to trial, for having turned to Bruce's party, after having been liegemen to Baliol, and, like a similar example of modern times, he transmitted to the judges with the commission for trying the prisoners a scroll of the doom previously fixed by himself and his privy council. The decision of a court so well instructed in its duty was no matter of question. Both earls were convicted of high treason, and the earl of Monteith suffered the hideous punishment annexed to that crime by the English law.

Yet while thus severely punishing those who had been traitors, as it was called, to Baliol, Edward had no purpose of restoring to his ally any delegated power in Scotland. The ex-king had, since his repeated expulsion from his kingdom, lived upon appointments afforded him from England, and acted more as a lieutenant of the

English marches than a prince having a right to the Scottish throne, nor did the victory of Neville's Cross extend his authority. On the contrary, the English barons Lucy, Dacre, and Umfraville received a commission to accept the allegiance which it was supposed the humbled inhabitants of Scotland would be willing universally to transfer to king Edward in person.

Upon this, however, as well as other occasions of imminent peril, the Scottish people, on the very brink of ruin as an independent nation, found a remedy in their own dauntless courage. The nobility who had escaped from the field of Neville's Cross restored the steward of Scotland, heir of the crown, to the regency of the kingdom, in place of the imprisoned king. Yielding up the southern provinces, which he could not defend, the steward placed the country north of the Forth in as strong a posture as he could, and amid terror and disturbance maintained a show of government and good order. At this critical period William lord Douglas returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and, with the active valour of his uncle the good lord James, expelled the English invaders from his own domains of Douglas-dale, and in process of time

from Eltricke forest and Teviotdale, provinces of which the warlike population had been long followers of this chivalrous family.

The consequences of these successes would probably have been a furious invasion of Scotland, had it depended entirely upon the will of Edward III. But the consent of the English barons was necessary, and they were little disposed to aid in a renewal of those expensive and destructive hostilities which had been so often and so fruitlessly waged against Scotland. The king of England, therefore, reluctantly consented to a truce with the steward, which he renewed from time to time, as he began to conceive designs of at once filling his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner, David, and to secure a right of succession to the Scottish throne by other means than open war.

With this view, the royal captive was treated with more kindness than at first, and (to sharpen, perhaps, his appetite for restoration to freedom and to his kingdom) he was allowed to visit Scotland, on making oath and finding hostages to return in a time limited. Impatient as his predecessor William the Lion, David

seems to have been ready to submit his kingdom to the sovereignty of Edward, and yield up once more the question of supremacy, in order to obtain his personal freedom. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose. Two instruments remain, by which David recognizes the title of Edward as lord paramount, and agrees to take the oath of homage. The purpose of his temporary liberation being partly to give him an opportunity of sounding the opinion and sentiments of his people on this important point, the English commissioners were empowered to protract his term of absence, if they should think the execution of a treaty on such a foundation could be advanced by it. But when the pulse of the Scottish nobles was sounded on this subject, they made an unanimous declaration, that though they would joyfully impoverish themselves to purchase with money the freedom of their sovereign, they would never agree to surrender, for that or any other object, the independence of their country. David was therefore obliged to return to his captivity.

Mr. Tytler conjectures, that it was as a subsidiary part of this agreement between the two kings, that Edward III. entered into a sort of

treaty with the knight of Liddisdale, also a prisoner in England since the battle of Neville's Cross, by which the latter, assuming a treasonable independence, and renouncing, under a thin and affected disguise, the allegiance and duty which he owed to his own king and country, became bound to admit Englishmen to pass through his territories at all times, and for all purposes; engaged to keep on foot a body of men for the service of Edward; and, in short, transferred to the English king those military services which he owed to his native country. The consideration for this treacherous desertion was his liberation from prison, a grant by king Edward of the lands and lordship of Liddisdale and the castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in the mountains of Annandale. We can hardly think that the whole of this treaty was known to David, although it is probable he was aware that the knight of Liddisdale was disposed to favour an alliance with England. But, whether with or without the knowledge of his sovereign, too certain it is, to borrow the pathetic language of lord Hailes, that, "thus in an evil hour did sir William Douglas at once cancel the merit of former achievements, and, for the possession of a precarious inheritance,

transmit his name to posterity in the roll of timeservers and traitors."

The knight of Liddisdale's schemes, indeed, were baffled almost as soon as formed. He had not long been in possession of the freedom thus basely obtained, before he was waylaid and slain, while hunting in Ettricke forest *, by his own kinsman and godson, William lord of Douglas. The contemporary historians are at a loss whether to ascribe this act of violence on the part of lord Douglas to domestic jealousy or to revenge for the murder of Ramsay and that of sir David Berkeley, assassinated (July 13. 1354.) by the command of the knight of Liddisdale while he was yet captive in London. But,

* The spot is called, in old histories, Galsewood or Galseford. Tradition fixes it at William's Cross, betwixt Tweed and Yarrow, where a cross is said to have long existed in memory of the incident. Lindean church, where the obsequies of the slaughtered knight of Liddisdale were first performed, is exactly half way betwixt William's Cross and Melrose, where the body was finally interred.

in our time, the knowledge having emerged of Liddisdale's traitorous engagement with Edward, we can easily conceive that lord Douglas may have taken his kinsman's life as that of a traitor to the kingdom, and a dangerous rival in his own family rights.

Shortly after this incident, a treaty for the ransom of David was agreed upon by commissioners at Newcastle, for ninety thousand marks sterling, which sum was to be paid up by instalments of ten thousand marks yearly. All the nobility of the kingdom, and all the merchants, were to become bound for the regular payment of these large sums. The greater part of the Scottish nobles thought this an exorbitant demand for the liberty of a prince of moderate talents, without heirs of his body, and attached to idle pleasures. While the estates were doubting whether or not the treaty should be ratified, the arrival of a brave French knight, de Garenquieres, with a small but selected body of knights and esquires, and a large sum of forty thousand *moutons* of gold, to be distributed among the Scots nobles on condition of their breaking the truce and invading England, decided their resolution. They readily adopted, at whatever future risk, the course which was attended with receiv-

ing money instead of that which involved their own paying it. Indeed, the Northumbrian borderers themselves made the first aggression, by invading and spoiling the lands of the earl of March. The Douglas and the earl of March determined on reprisals.

These Scottish nobles conducted their inroad as men well acquainted with the stratagems of border warfare. A strong advance party of five hundred men was sent into Northumberland under command of sir William Ramsay (son of the murdered sir Alexander), while the two earls with the main body remained in ambush at a place called Nisbet, within the Scottish frontier. Ramsay speedily swept together a great spoil, and proceeded, according to his instructions, to drive them into Scotland, under the full view of the garrison of Norham. Fired at this insult, sir Thomas Gray, governor of the castle, rushed out at the head of a select body of men at arms, and pursuing Ramsay, who retreated before him, fell into the ambuscade which had been laid for him, and, after a most chivalrous defence, was defeated and made prisoner.

Another, though momentary gleam of success, shone on the Scottish arms. The earls of Angus and March, assisted by the French auxiliaries, made themselves masters of the important town of Berwick, but failed to obtain possession of the castle. At this important crisis, the French, who had done various feats of arms under Eugene de Garencieres, took their leave and returned home, disgusted with the service in Scotland. Their national valour induced them to face with readiness the dangers of the warfare; but their manners and habits made them impatient of the rough fare and fierce manners of their allies.

Edward III. no sooner heard of the defeat at Nisbet and the surprise of Berwick, than he passed over from Calais, and appeared before the town with a great part of that veteran army which had been so often victorious in France, and large reinforcements, who emulated their valour. His whole army amounted to eighty thousand men. The Scots who had gained the town had no time to store themselves with provisions, or make other preparations for defence. They were not, besides, in possession of the castle, from which they were liable to be attacked, while the king of England should

storm the walls. They capitulated, therefore, for permission to evacuate the town, of which Edward obtained possession by the terror of his appearance alone.

Berwick regained, it was now the object of Edward III. to march into Scotland, and to put a final end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars so repeatedly offered to his operations in France. He determined, being now in possession of all means supposed adequate to the purpose, to make a final conquest of the kingdom, and forcibly unite it, as his grandfather had joined Wales, to the larger and richer portion of the island.

But as, like that grandfather, Edward III. had not leisure to conquer kingdoms for other men, it was necessary for him to clear the way of the claims of Baliol, whom he had hitherto professed to regard as the legitimate king of Scotland. This was easily arranged; for Edward Baliol was, in the hands of Edward III., a far more flexible tool than his father had proved in those of Edward I. Being a mere phantom, whom Edward could summon upon the scene and dismiss at pleasure, he was probably very easily moulded to the purpose of the king of

England, and of free consent and good will underwent the ceremony of degradation, to which his father, after failing in all attempts at resistance, had been compelled to submit, and which procured him the dishonourable nickname of Toom tabard, or Empty Jacket. Edward Baliol appeared before Edward attired in all the symbols of royalty, of which he formally divested himself; and laying his golden crown at the feet of the English king, ceded to him all right, title, and interest which he had or might claim in the sovereignty of Scotland. The causes inducing him to this transference and surrender the cedent alleged to be, 1st, the advance of old age, and the want of heirs to succeed him; 2ndly, his high obligations to the English king, his especial affection for him, and the nearness of blood which existed between them; together with the ingratitude and rebellion of his Scottish relations and subjects and in general his desire to promote the advantage of both nations. Such were the pretexts; but in reality Baliol possessed no interest whatever in Scotland; he was a mere stipendiary and pensioner of England, and Edward was now desirous to be rid of him, and either to acquire the crown of Scotland to himself directly by virtue of Baliol's cession in his favour, or, if that project should fail, to achieve

the same object by making some composition with the imprisoned David, whom he found not indisposed to agree to a settlement of the crown on a son of the king of England, in exchange for his own liberty. In guerdon of his pliancy, Baliol, when retiring into private life, was to be endowed by Edward III. with a sum of five thousand marks, and a stipend or annuity of two thousands pounds sterling a year. With this splendid income Edward Baliol retired into privacy and obscurity, and is never again mentioned in history. The spirit of enterprise which dictated the invasion of Scotland in 1332 and the adventurous attack upon the Scottish encampment at Dupplin-moor, shows itself in no other part of his conduct, which may lead us to think that an attempt so daring was no suggestion of his own mind, but breathed into it by the councils of some master-spirit among his counsellors. In battle he showed the bravery of a soldier; but in other respects he never seems to have displayed talents whether for war or peace. He died childless in the year 1363; and thus ended in his person the line of Baliol; whose pretensions had cost Scotland so dear.

The campaign which Edward designed should be decisive of the fate of Scotland now approached. The Scottish nobles, more wise in calamity than success, taught and convinced by experience of the danger of encountering the enemy in pitched battle and in the open field, resolved to practise the lessons of defensive war which had been bequeathed to them by their deliverer, king Robert. Time was, however, required to lay the country waste, to withdraw the inhabitants, and take the other precautions necessary for this stern and desolating species of resistance. For this purpose earl Douglas was sent to king Edward to protract time as long as he could with offers of negotiation. He succeeded in obtaining a truce of ten days, during the greater part of which he remained in the English camp, and then left it, exulting in having obtained the necessary space for defensive preparations, of which his countrymen had made excellent use.

Scotland was now somewhat in the same condition as when invaded in 1322, but thus far worse situated, that as Edward III. was an heroic character a hundred times more formidable than his father, so the chiefs whom Scotland had now to oppose against the victor, at whose

name France trembled, were as far inferior in talents to the Bruce. They were imbued, however, with his sentiments, and were determined to act upon them; and thus being dead, king Robert might be said still to direct the Scottish army.

Edward no sooner entered Scotland than he found his troops in want of every species of supply, save what they bore along with them. The villages and farm-yards were silent, and vacant alike of men, grain, and cattle. Within the circuit of an ordinary foraging party, no species of supply was to be found. If any ventured beyond the reach of speedy and instant support, they were overwhelmed by the Scots, who lying in ambush in glens, morasses, and forests, pounced on them from all sides, and gave no quarter. Incensed at the difficulties and privations by which he was surrounded, and conscious that he had been overreached by Douglas in the previous negotiation, Edward vented his wrath in reckless and indiscriminate destruction, burning every town and village which he approached, without sparing the edifices which were dedicated to heaven and holy uses. The fine abbey church at Haddington, called the Lamp of Lothian, from the beauty of its

architecture, was burnt down, and the monastery, as well as the town itself, utterly destroyed. These ravages caused the period (February, 1356) to be long remembered by the title of the burnt Candlemas.

The vehemence of Edward's passion, and the furious manner in which he vented it, might soothe him with feelings of gratified vengeance, but could neither find provisions for his men nor forage for his army, and man and horse began to sink under privation approaching to famine. Edward had expected to meet his victualling ships, which had been despatched to Berwick; but no sail appeared on the shipless seas. After waiting ten days among the ruins of Haddington, his difficulties increasing with every minute, Edward at length learned that a storm had dispersed his fleet, not one of which had been able to enter the firth of Forth. Retreat was now inevitable: the sufferings of the English soldiers rendered it disorderly, and it was attended with proportional loss. The Scots, from mountains, dingles, forests, and pathless wildernesses, approached the English army on every side; watching it as the carrion crows and ravens wait on a tainted flock, to destroy such as fall down through weakness.

To avoid returning through the wasted province of Berwickshire, Edward involved himself in the defiles of the upper part of Teviotdale and Ettricke forest, where he suffered much loss from the harassing attacks of Douglas, and on one occasion very narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

The failure of this great enterprise, the fifth in which the attempt of invasion had been foiled, seems to have induced Edward to resort to other means than those of open and avowed hostility for the establishment of his power in Scotland; an object which he conceived to be still within his reach. The temper of his royal prisoner, David Bruce, was now, by his long confinement in England, become well known to him, and he doubted not that by some agreement with the selfish prince he might secure that interest in Scotland and its government of which the people were so jealous.. A preliminary step to such an intrigue was the delivery of David from his long captivity, and the establishment of peace between the nations.

By the final agreement between the commissioners for each kingdom, (Oct. 3. 1357.) David's ransom, augmented since the last treaty,

was fixed at one hundred thousand marks, to be discharged by partial payments of ten thousand marks yearly. The nobles, churchmen, and burgesses of Scotland bound themselves to see the instalments regularly paid; and three nobles of the highest rank, who might, however, be exchanged for others of the same degree from time to time, together with twenty young men of quality, the son of the steward being included, were surrendered to England as hostages. Thus was David restored to freedom eleven years after having been made prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. The terms, on the whole, were rather more severe than those proposed three years before, when the treaty was broken off by the interest of France.

The first thing, after his return, which marked the tendency of David's political feelings and attachments was his predilection for visits to England, and long residences there, which became so frequent as to excite a feeling among his subjects that they did but waste their substance in needlessly ransoming a sovereign who preferred the land of his captivity to his own dominions. A trifling incident, also, occurred soon after his liberation, which manifested an arrogant, vain, and unfeeling temper. As the

people, eager to see their long-absent king, pressed into his presence with more affection than reverence, David snatched a mace from an attendant, and laying about him with his own royal hand, taught his liege subjects in future to put their loyal feelings under more ceremonial restraint.

A species of intimacy, in which Edward trusted to find his advantage, was now encouraged between his dominions and Scotland. Licences were given to traders, to pilgrims, natives of both countries, to youth of quality desirous of receiving education at the English universities, to all, in short, who could allege a reasonable cause for visiting the English dominions. The Scottish nobles were welcomed when they visited the English court. This liberal line of conduct was no doubt designed to dazzle the eyes of the Scots with the superior wealth and splendour of their powerful neighbours; and to engage them in such friendly transactions and relations as might smooth down the prejudices which had been the natural growth of so many years' war. All these were fair and laudable objects; but the king of England sought them with a sinister and selfish purpose.

The weakness of David, who had shown himself willing, would his subjects have permitted him, to sacrifice to Edward the independence of Scotland, by acknowledging him as lord paramount, had encouraged the king of England to propose that, in place of the steward of Scotland, the grandson of Robert Bruce by his daughter Marjory, Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. himself, should be called to succeed to the crown of Scotland. This project seems to have been kept closely concealed from the Scottish nation at large until the month of March, 1363, when David Bruce ventured to bring it himself before the estates of the Scottish parliament, convoked to meet at Scone. The king of Scotland had lately become a widower, by the death of queen Joanna, during one of her visits to England. This makes it seem more extraordinary that he should desire the substitution of an English prince in the succession of the crown, since David might justly have apprehended that if, in the case of probable events, he himself might marry again and have children, the king of England would not have brooked to see the hope of his son's succession blighted, even by the birth of heirs of his own body. Undeterred by this motive, powerful as it might be thought, David

Bruce proposed to the estates of Scotland, « that, in the event of his dying without heirs, they should settle the crown on one of the sons of the king of England. He particularly recommended the duke Lionel of Clarence as a worthy object of their choice, hinted that this would insure a constant peace between the two nations of Britain, and become the means to induce the king of England to resign, formally and for ever, all pretensions to the feudal supremacy, which had been the cause of such fatal struggles. »

The estates of Scotland listened with sorrow and indignation to such a proposition, coming as it did from the lips of their sovereign, the son of the heroic Robert Bruce. Instantly and unanimously they replied, « that they would never permit an Englishman to rule over them; that, by solemn acts of settlement sworn to in parliament, the steward of Scotland was called to the crown in default of the present king or issue of his body; that he was a brave man, and worthy of the succession: from which, therefore, they refused to exclude him, by preferring the son of an alien enemy. »

King David received, doubtless, this blunt refusal, which necessarily inferred a severe personal reproach, with shame and mortification, but made no reply; and the parliament, passing to other matters, appointed commissioners to labour at the great work of converting the present precarious truce between England and Scotland into a steady and permanent peace.

But the proposal of altering the destination of the crown, although apparently passed from or withdrawn, remained tenaciously rooted in the minds of those whose interests had been assailed by it. The steward and his sons, with many of his kindred, the earls of March, Douglas, and other southern barons, assumed arms, and entered into bonds or leagues to prevent, they said, the alteration of the order of succession as fixed in the days of Bruce.

The king armed in his turn, not, as he alleged, to enforce an alteration of the succession, but to restore good order, and compel the associated lords to lay down their arms, in which he was successful. The steward and his associates submitted themselves, awed by the unexpected spirit displayed by the king, and the numerous party which continued to adhere

to him. Stewart himself, together with Douglas, March, and others associated in the league were contented to renounce the obligation in open parliament, convened at Inchmurdoch (May 14 1363.) The steward, upon the same occasion, swore on the gospels true liegedom and fealty to David, under the penalty of forfeiting not only his own life and lands, but his and his family's title of succession to the throne. In recompense of this prompt return to the duty of a subject, as well as to soothe the apprehensions for national independence which the proposal of the king had excited, the right of succession to the throne, as solemnly established in the steward and his sons, was fully recognized, and the earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III.

The imprudent David had hardly ratified the proceedings of the parliament of Scone, ere, forgetful of the danger he had lately incurred, he repaired to London, and renewed with Edward III. those intrigues, which had for their object the alteration of the succession. A new plan was now drawn up for this purpose, at a conference held between the two kings and certain selected counsellors, Nov. 23. 1368.

By this the king of England, Edward III., was himself to be declared heir of king David, in case the former should die without issue male. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of most of which seems to have been to reconcile the Scottish people to the sway of an English monarch, by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade, by ratifying to North Britain its laws and independence as a separate kingdom, and above all, by discharging the ransom, which continued a heavy burden upon Scotland, of which only a tenth part had been yet paid. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the fatal stone of inauguration, on which it was proposed that the king of England himself should be crowned at Scone, after the Scottish manner. All claim of supremacy was to be renounced, and the independence of Scotland, in church and state, was carefully provided for, together with an obligation on Edward, when he should succeed to the throne, binding him to use Scottish counsellors in all the national concerns of the kingdom, and to employ native Scottishmen in all offices of trust. But the same schedule of articles contains a clause for giving the English king the command of the Scottish national and feudal levies; a condition

which alone must have had the consequence of placing the country at Edward's unlimited disposal. The minutes of this conference open with a provision of strict secrecy, and a declaration that what follows is not to be considered as any thing finally resolved upon or determined, but merely as the heads of a plan to be hereafter examined more maturely, and adopted, altered, or altogether thrown aside at pleasure. By the last article the king of Scotland undertook to sound the inclinations of his people respecting this scheme, and report the result to the English king within fifteen days after Easter. It is probable that David, on his return to Scotland, found the scheme totally impracticable.

A circumstance of personal imprudence now added (1364.) to the difficulties by which king David was surrounded. With a violence, unbecoming his high rank and mature age, he fell in love with a beautiful young woman, called Margaret Logie, daughter of sir John Logie, executed for accession to that plot against Robert Bruce which was prosecuted and punished in the times of the black parliament. The young lady was eminently beautiful; and the king, finding he could not satisfy his passion otherwise, gave her his hand in marriage. This

unequal alliance scandalised his haughty nobles, and seems to have caused an open rupture betwixt David and his kinsman the steward, whose views to the crown were placed in danger of being disappointed, if the fair lady should bear a son to her royal husband. It was probably on account of some quarrel arising out of this subject of discord, that king David seems to have thrown the steward, with his son, the lord of Badenoch, into prison, where both were long detained.

The accomplishment of a general and enduring peace betwixt the two kingdoms was now the occupation of commissioners. The payment of the ransom of David was the principal obstacle. The first instalments had been discharged with tolerable regularity. For this effect the Scottish parliament had made great sacrifices. The whole wool of the kingdom, apparently its most productive subject of export, was directed to be delivered up to the king at a low rate, and the surplus produced over prime cost in disposing of the commodity to the foreign merchants in Flanders was to be applied in discharge of the ransom. A property tax upon men of every degree was also imposed and levied. From these funds the sum of twenty thousand marks had been raised and paid to England. But since

these payments the destined sources had fallen short. The Scots had applied to the pope, who having already granted to the king a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices for the term of three years, refused to authorize any further tax upon the clergy. They solicited France, who, as her own king was unransomed and in captivity in England, had a fair apology for declining further assistance, unless under condition that the Scots would resume the war with England, in which case they promised a contribution of fifty thousand marks towards the ransom of king David.

Scotland being thus straitened and without resources, the stipulated instalments of the ransom necessarily fell into arrear, and heavy penalties were, according to the terms of the treaty, incurred for default of payment. Edward acted the part of a lenient creditor. He was less intent on payment of the ransom than to place the Scottish nation in so insolvent a condition, that the estates might be glad, in one way or other, to compromise that debt by a sacrifice of their independence. He could not, indeed, use the readiest mode of compelling payment by summoning the Scottish monarch to return to captivity, without depriving himself of a tractable and willing agent for forwarding

his views in Scotland, and probably, at the same time, throwing that country into the control of the steward, the decided enemy of English influence. The penalties and arrears were now computed to amount to one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by instalments of six thousand marks yearly. The truce was prolonged for about three years. These payments, though most severe on the nation of Scotland, seem to have been made good with regularity by means of the taxes which the Scottish parliament had imposed for defraying them: so that in 1369 the truce between the nations was continued for fourteen years, and the English conceded that the balance of the ransom, amounting still to fifty-six thousand marks, should be cleared by annual payments of four thousand marks. In this manner the ransom of David was completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign. These heavy but necessary exactions were not made without internal struggles.

The northern barons and Celtic chiefs were, for a short time, in open insurrection against payment of the imposts; but were put down by the steadiness of the parliament, and one of those starts of activity into which the indolent but

resolute spirit of David Bruce was sometimes awakened. He marched into the north-west against John of the Isles, and reducing that turbulent and powerful chief to subjection, compelled him to submit to the tax imposed by parliament, and exacted hostages from him for remaining in allegiance.

Family discord broke out in the royal family. Margaret Logie, the young and beautiful queen, was expensive, like persons who are suddenly removed from narrow to opulent circumstances. She was fond of changing place, of splendour in retinue, dress, and entertainment; perhaps, being young and beautiful, she also liked personal admiration. David's passion was satiated, and he was desirous to dissolve the unequal marriage which he had so imprudently formed. The bishops of Scotland pronounced a sentence of divorce, but upon what grounds we are left ignorant by historians. Margaret Logie appealed to the pope from the sentence of the Scottish church, and went to Avignon to prosecute the cause by means of such wealth as she had amassed during her continuance in power, which is said to have been considerable. Her appeal was heard with favour by the pope; but she did not live

to bring it to an issue, as she died abroad (1369).

After the divorce of this lady by the Scottish prelates, the steward and his son were released from prison, and restored to the king's favour, which plainly showed by what influence they had incurred disgrace and captivity.

Little more remains to be said of David II. He became affected with a mortal illness, and died in the castle of Edinburgh (Feb. 22. 1370-1371.), at the early age of forty-seven, and in the forty-fifth year of his reign. He had courage, affability, and the external graces which become a prince. But his life was an uniform contrast to the patriotic devotion of his father. He exacted and received the most painful sacrifices at the hands of his subjects, and never curbed himself in a single caprice, or denied a single indulgence, in requital of their loyalty and affection. In the latter years of his life, he acted as the dishonourable tool of England, and was sufficiently willing to have exchanged, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of Scotland, bought by his heroic father at the expense of so many sufferings, which

terminated in ruined health and premature death.

The reign of David II. was as melancholy a contrast to that of his father as that of Robert I. had been brilliant when contrasted with his predecessors. Yet we recognize in it a nearer approach to civil polity, and a more absolute commixture of the different tribes by which Scotland was peopled into one general nation, obedient to a single government.

Even the chiefs of the Isles and Highlands were so much subdued as to own the allegiance of the Scottish king, to hold seats in his parliaments, and resign, though reluctantly, much of that rude and tumultuous independence which they had formerly made their boast. The power of these formidable chiefs was much reduced, not only by the actual restraint exercised over them by the sovereign and his lieutenants, often at the head of an armed force, but by the less justifiable policy which the sovereign is said to have exercised, of stirring up one chieftain against another, and thus humbling and diminishing the power of the whole. Still the separation of the Highlands from the Lowlands was that betwixt two separate races; and though the

king's sovereignty was acknowledged in both, the ordinary course of law was only current in the more civilized country, and we shall presently see that the lords of the isles gave repeated disturbances to the Scottish government. The nation, at the same time, became more like that with which we ourselves are acquainted. A few great families can indeed trace their descent from the period of Robert Bruce; but a far greater number are first distinguished in the reign of his son, where the lists of the battle of Durham contain the names of the principal nobility and gentry in modern Scotland, and are the frequent resource of the genealogists. The spirit of commerce advanced in the time of David II. against all the disadvantages of foreign and domestic warfare.

In the parliaments of 1368 and 1369 a practice was introduced, for the first time apparently, of empowering committees of parliament to prepare and arrange, in previous and secret meetings, the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterwards to come before the body at large. As this led to investing a small cabal of the representatives with the exclusive power of garbling and selecting the subjects for parliamentary debate, it necessarily tended to limit

the free discussion so essential to the constitution of that body, and finally assumed the form of that very obnoxious institution called Lords of the Articles, who, claiming the preliminary right of examining and rejecting at their pleasure such measures as were to be brought before parliament, became a severe restraint on national freedom.

Amidst pestilence and famine, which made repeated ravages in Scotland during this unhappy reign, the Scottish national spirit never showed itself more energetically determined on resisting the English domination to the last. Particular chiefs and nobles were no doubt seduced from their allegiance, but there was no general or undisturbed pause of submission and apathy. The nation was strong in its very weakness; for as the Scots became unequal to the task of assembling national armies, they were saved from the consequences of such general actions as Dunbar, Halidon, and Berwick, and obliged to limit themselves to the defensive species of war, best suited to the character of the country, and that which its inhabitants were so well qualified to wage.

The want of talents in the sovereign, and the effects of his long imprisonment, were most

severely felt in the independence which was affected by the knight of Liddisdale, and other great leaders and nobles, who committed in their feudal strife such horrible crimes as the murder of Ramsay of Dalwolsey, Bullock, Berkeley, St. Michael, and others. The parliament were sensible of these grievous evils; but, despairing of their own power to repress them, it was rather in a tone of intreaty than command that they implored the great nobles to lay aside their private quarrels, and unite cordially in the defence of their common country. Many of the authors of such evils, who had enrolled themselves as members of the estates, joined in these patriotic remonstrances, and when the parliament broke up, rode home each to his feudal tower and waste domains, to harass his neighbours with private war as before. The Scottish parliament seems never to have failed in perceiving the evils which afflicted the state, or in making sound and sagacious regulations to repress them; but unhappily the executive power seldom or never possessed the authority necessary to enforce the laws; and thus the nation continued in the condition of a froward patient, who cannot be cured because there is no prevailing upon him to take the prescriptions ordered by the physicians.

CHAPTER XV.

Accession of the house of Stewart: their origin. — Robert II. and his family. — Claim of the earl of Douglas: it is abandoned. — Defeat of the English near Melrose. — Wasteful incursions on the border. — John of Gaunt negotiates with Scotland: takes refuge there against the English rioters. — France instigates the Scots to renew the war. — Inroad by John of Gaunt. — John de Vienne arrives with an army of French auxiliaries. — They are dissatisfied with Scotland, and the Scots with them. — They urge the Scots to fight a pitched battle with the English. — The Scots decline doing so, and explain their motives. — Invasion of Richard: it is paid back by the Scots. — The French auxiliaries leave Scotland. — The Scots menace England with invasion. — The battle of Otterbourne. — Robert earl of Fife regent. — Truce with England. — Robert II. dies.

THE genealogy of the Stewart family, who now acceded to the throne of Scotland, has been the theme of many a fable. But their pedigree has by late antiquaries been distinctly traced to the great Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan in England; no unworthy descent, even for a race of monarchs. In David the first's time, Walter Fitz-Alan held the high post of seneschal or steward of the king's household; and the dignity becoming hereditary in the family, what was originally a title was converted into a surname, and employed as such. Walter, the sixth high-steward, fought bravely at Bannockburn, defended Berwick with the most chivalrous courage, and was unanimously thought worthy of the hand of Marjory Bruce, the daughter of the liberator of Scotland; and to their only child, the seventh lord high-steward, often mentioned during the last reign, the crown descended, on the extinction of the Bruce's male line in his only son David II.

The successor to the crown had been twice married. By Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, his

first wife, he had his son John, created earl of Carrick, Walter earl of Fife, Robert earl of Monteith, afterwards duke of Albany, and Alexander earl of Buchan. No less than six daughters, united in marriage with the most powerful families in Scotland, assured their support to the succession of the house of Stewart. The new king was, by a second marriage with Euphemia, daughter of the earl of Ross, the father of David earl of Stratherne and Walter earl of Athol. Of four daughters by this second marriage, the eldest was married to James earl of Douglas, and the other three also wedded into ancient and powerful families.

The father of this numerous race was an elderly man, fifty-five years old, with an infirmity in his eyes, which rendered them as red as blood. He had been in his youth a bold and active soldier; but he was now passed the years of martial exertion, and obliged to delegate to others the command of his army. He had the virtues of a pacific sovereign, being just, benign, clement, and sagacious.

The earl of Douglas threatened the tranquillity of the realm by a claim on the throne, which, however, was no sooner made than abandoned,

upon his receiving the hand of the princess Euphemia in marriage. Robert II. was, therefore, inaugurated at Scone, March 27. 1371, with the usual ceremony. As the Scots continued to pay the ransom of king David with tolerable regularity, no open war with England was entered into until 1378; when, after mutual injuries and inroads, it broke out with great fury, and skirmishes and battles of a destructive rather than a decisive character took place. A small body of Scots made themselves masters of the citadel of Berwick; but, not being supported by a sufficient force, were surprised and put to the sword. In a fierce encounter near Melrose, the English, under the command of Musgrave, governor of Berwick, were defeated by the earl of Douglas. The battle was decided by the personal exertions of Archibald Douglas, who, wielding with ease a sword which an ordinary man could hardly lift, broke the English ranks with the fury of his blows. The Scots appear to have had the better in this species of predatory hostility, their borderers being very numerous, and the best qualified in Europe for irregular war. Their rapine was now greater and greedier, than usual; for even swine, which they used formerly to spare or neglect, did not now escape them: and there were instances of

their driving off forty thousand head of booty in a successful inroad. They are said to have amused themselves by playing at football with the heads of the slain. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration; but it is certain that their ferocity equalled their rapacity. They were led also by a Douglas, whose activity was indefatigable. He surprised the town of Penrith (1380.), during a fair that was held there. The Scots made a great booty, and gave the town to the flames. The English were also defeated in Annandale, where the borderers of Cumberland entered, for the purpose of retaliating these injuries.

The miseries of this cruel species of hostility were enhanced by a contagious disease which raged on the English frontiers, and which was imported into Scotland by the reckless borderers, whom even the pestilence itself could not deter from spoil.

In the ensuing year (1381.) John of Gaunt, the celebrated duke of Lancaster, marched to the border with a formidable force, and put a temporary close to these miseries by a truce for twelve months, which, when nearly expired, was renewed (1383) for the same period. A singular occurrence took place while this last

treaty was negotiating. The insurrection of Wat Tyler broke out; and the duke of Lancaster, against whom, as a patron of the followers of Wickliffe, much of the popular fury was directed, found it dangerous to return into England. Although the kingdoms could hardly be said to be at peace together, he did not hesitate to choose Scotland for his temporary place of refuge. Nor was this generous confidence ill requited. Edinburgh castle was assigned to their princely guest and his retinue, that their security might be safely provided for, and they were allowed the exclusive possession of this important fortress. And when the civil commotion was ended, the duke returned to England in security.

France beheld with anxiety this cessation, brief as it was, of hostility between England and Scotland. Towards the latter she always acted as a civilized colony toward some tribe of barbarians in their neighbourhood, whose passions they animate by promises or bribes, in order to have their assistance in war with a powerful neighbour. On the present occasion, as a diversion on the English frontiers was of the utmost consequence to their success at home, the French government instigated the Scots, by

the distribution of a large sum of money, and the promise of assisting them with an auxiliary force of a thousand men at arms and their attendants, and a thousand suits of armour, to suffer the truce to elapse without renewal. The Scots listened to the temptation, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the old king, who was pacifically disposed, they resumed hostilities at the end of the truce.

The duke of Lancaster again visited the frontiers; but it was for the purpose of punishment, not treaty. He marched as far as Edinburgh, plundering the country; but generously spared the city, which had been so lately his place of refuge, and retreated, after he had shown both his power and his clemency. Robert II. again advised peace; but he could not prevail on the warlike nobles of Scotland to accept of its blessings.

In 1385, France, according to her engagement, sent to Scotland a large sum of money, twelve hundred suits of armour complete, with all appurtenances, and a thousand men at arms, with their followers, which may be estimated at five thousand men in all, forming, according to Froissart's phrase, a complete garland of

chivalry, and commanded by John de Vienne, admiral of France, one of the most distinguished warriors of the day.

The first articles of this importation were gladly received in Scotland, where ready palms were found to receive the gold, and limbs as prompt to bear the armour. But the auxiliaries themselves had but a cold reception. Of this the French were themselves in part the cause. Accustomed to good fare and comfortable lodging, they were surprised at the wretched food and miserable accommodations with which habit and necessity had made the Scots familiar. At first they treated their hardships as a jest; but the continuation of such a rude mode of living wore out their good humour; and their allies complained that when they had furnished these foreigners with the best which their means afforded, they were only requited with grumbling and murmurs. The petulance of the French national gallantry also gave great offence; for even their general was so inconsiderate as to make love to a near relation of the king, to the scandal and indignation of the Scots, who had no toleration for such unbecoming licence.

Neither were the French chivalry of that use to the Scottish cause which had been expected. The Scots, indeed, assembled an army, and marched into England, where they made considerable havoc; but as the spoil was collected by what was called pricking or skirmishing, with which the borderers were better acquainted than the knights of France, it is probable that the former secured the greater part of the booty. John de Vienne and his companions might have done better service in sieges, and were employed for that purpose before Roxburgh, which had remained in the possession of the English since the battle of Durham. This scheme was, however, given up in consequence of an extravagant pretension set up by the strangers to garrison and hold the fortress when it should be taken.

While the French and their allies were thus disputing, they received news that the king of England, Richard II., was advancing with a large army for the purpose of invading Scotland. The French rejoiced, in expectation of a general action, in the event of which they anticipated a large share of glory and spoil. But the Scottish leaders informed them it was not their purpose to engage the English force in a pitched battle, alleging in excuse their

inferiority in numbers, but especially in the size of their horses and quality of their archers. "All that may be true," answered their allies; but if you do not give the English battle, they will destroy your country." "Let them do their worst," said the Scots; "we hold them at defiance. Our gentry will remove their families and household stuff; our cottagers and labourers will drive into the mountains and forests their herds and flocks, and transport thither their grain and forage, even to the very straw that covers their huts. We will surround them with a desert; and while they shall never see an enemy, they shall not stir a flight-shot from their standards without being overpowered by an ambush. Let them come on at their pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling, you shall see which has the worst of it."

The event of the campaign proved as the Scots had anticipated. The English army advanced into the Merse and Lothian, finding a country totally waste, where there was nothing to plunder, and little that could even be destroyed, excepting here and there a tower, whose massive walls defied all means of destruction then known, or a cluster of miserable huts, which a few days' labour could easily re-

pair, should they take the trouble to ruin them. Making a shift to maintain themselves by provisions from a fleet which attended their movements, the English army advanced to Edinburgh, when they were recalled by the news that the Scots had invaded Cumberland, and were retaliating with tenfold fury the work of destruction. And such was the superior wealth of England, even in its northern provinces, that, according to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in their *raid*, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted on Scotland had they burned as far as Aberdeen. Both armies retired to their own country, the Scots loaded with spoil, the English reduced by suffering, and the French execrating a species of warfare in which neither gold nor glory could be gathered. They now desired to leave a kingdom which they despised for its poverty and rudeness, while the natives upbraided them with their effeminate epicurism, and detested them for the arrogance of their pretensions to superior bravery, gallantry, and civilization. The Scots even refused to permit the departure of the Frenchmen until John de Vienne, their commander, agreed to remain as a hostage that the French government should pay the expenses which they had incurred while in Scotland.

Thus parted the French auxiliary force, in poverty, disappointment, and mortification, cursing the hour they had first seen a country so sterile as Scotland, or a people so barbarous as its natives.

The war continued to rage; and in 1388 the Scots thought they had a proper opportunity to retort upon the English the invasion of Richard II. A large army was assembled at Jedburgh for this purpose. The earl of Fife, second son of the reigning monarch, was commander in chief; but the hopes of the army rested upon James earl of Douglas, a man as much redoubted as any who ever bore that formidable title. The assembled leaders hearing that the Northumbrians were collecting a considerable force for an invasion of Scotland, resolved that their main body should not advance into England, as had been originally intended, but that a select detachment under Douglas of three hundred men at arms, who, with their followers, made up from a thousand to fifteen hundred men, with two thousand chosen infantry, should invade England.

By a swift and secret march, Douglas entered Northumberland, crossed the Tyne, and threw

himself on the bishopric of Durham, where he wasted and destroyed the country with fire and sword as far as the gates of York. In his return from an expedition which had been eminently successful, he passed as if in triumph before the gates of Newcastle. In this town lay the two sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry Percy, renowned by his nickname of Hotspur, with his brother sir Ralph. They did not tamely endure the presence of their hereditary enemy; but although they had not sufficient forces to give Douglas battle, came forth to skirmish with the Scottish knights, who willingly met them, and broke many spears. A personal encounter took place between the earl of Douglas himself and sir Henry Percy, in which Hotspur's lance, bearing a tuft of silk at the extremity, embroidered with his arms, remained in the possession of the Scottish earl. "This trophy," said the Scot, "I will carry to Scotland, and place it on the highest tower of my castle of Dalkeith." "That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do." "Then," replied Douglas, "thou must come this night and take it from before my tent." He then resumed his march up the river Tyne, and encamped at night, expecting that Percy would come to challenge his pennon. Hotspur was only withheld from doing so by the report that

Douglas was retreating on the main army of Scotland, and that he might find him united with the earl of March. But when, on the second day, he heard that the Scottish armies were yet far apart, and that Douglas moved slowly, as if inviting a pursuit, he hastily assembled about six hundred lances, who, with their squires and followers, and several thousand archers, made about eight or ten thousand men in all, and marched westward in pursuit of Douglas.

The Scottish earl had pitched his camp at Otterbourne, a hamlet in Reedsdale, and its lines extended east and west along the banks of the river. The English crossed the Reed, and attacked the right flank of the enemy's position, which they found rudely but strongly fortified, and well defended. Douglas, whose plan of battle had been previously adjusted, continued the defence of the barricade till he had led his men out of the camp, and drawn them up in a compact body, but with a changed front, for his line of battle now stretched north and south, while the river covered one flank, and hills and morasses protected the other. At the same time the vale of the Reed behind gave an avenue for retreat, should that prove necessary. This change of position in the commencement of the action

argues, that, besides his high character of chivalry, Douglas, as a general, possessed science beyond what we might esteem the tactics of his age. In the meantime the English were something disordered by pressing through the Scottish camp, and it had the effect in some degree of surprise, when, by the moon of a clear autumn night, they met their opponents within a little distance. The battle instantly joined with loud acclamations of Percy on the one side, and Douglas on the other. The conflict was such as might have been expected between two such champions and their followers. At length the numbers of the English began to prevail, when Douglas, as seems to have been the wont of the heroes of that family, made a desperate personal effort. He rushed on the foe, holding his battle-axe in both hands, and clearing his way by main force. His bannerman pressed on to keep up with his heroic master. At length, involved among the English, and far from his followers, Douglas, despite his armour of proof, received three mortal wounds. But the impulse given by his furious advance had animated the Scots and disheartened the English, nor did either army know the fate of the Scottish leader. Several Scottish knights, pursuing their advantage, pressed up to the place where Douglas was lying in the

last agony. They enquired anxiously how he fared? "But indifferently," replied the earl: "life is ebbing fast. There is a prophecy in our house that a dead man shall win a field, and I think it will be this night accomplished. I fall as my fathers did, who seldom have died in chambers or on a sick-bed. Conceal my death; raise my banner; cry my war-cry, and avenge my fall!" The Scottish leaders, their hearts swelling with sorrow and desire of revenge, made a new and desperate attack; and put to flight the English, who were already staggered. Both the Percies remained prisoners, and with them almost all the Englishmen of condition who fought in this celebrated action, which Froissart assures us was one of the most desperate in his time, and fought with the most heroic bravery on both sides.

The bishop of Durham arrived the day after the battle with seven thousand men; but after two feints to attack the victor, he shunned to encounter the enemy by whom Hotspur had been beaten. The Scottish detachment rejoined their own main body in a procession which seemed rather that of mourners than of victors, so general was the grief for the loss of their leader.

The king of Scotland being now (1389) unequal to the fatigues of state, from which he absented himself as much as he could, Robert earl of Fife was chosen as regent of the kingdom. He was the second son of the reigning monarch, but was preferred to the seat of government in the place of his elder brother, John earl of Carrick, because the latter was infirm in his person, being lamed by the kick of a horse, and possessed no efficient activity of mind to amend the want of it in his person.

The regent, after he had been invested with his office, showed considerable energy. The earl of Nottingham, marshal of England, trusted with the wardenship of the east marches, had reproached the Percies for their defeat at Otterbourne, and boasted of what he would himself have done in similar circumstances. But when the regent Robert, at the head of an equal army, defied him to action, Nottingham declined the combat with the unsoldier-like excuse, "that he was not commissioned to expose the king's liege subjects to danger." The Scots burned Tyne-mouth, and returned to their own country.

In the summer of the same year, 1389, a truce of three years was formed betwixt France and

England, in which Scotland was included as the ally of the former power. Shortly after this event king Robert II. died at his castle of Dundonald in Ayrshire. He was at the advanced age of seventy-five, and had reigned nineteen years.

CHAPTER XVI.

Accession of John earl of Carrick. — His name is changed to Robert III. — The state of his family. — Feuds. — Burning of Elgin. — Inroad of the Highlanders, and conflict of Glascune. — Battle of Bourtree church. — Combat of the clan Chattan and clan Quhele. — Prince David of Scotland: created duke of Rothsay: exposed to the misrepresentations of his uncle, who becomes duke of Albany. — Marriage of Rothsay. — Scandalous management of Albany: breaks faith with the earl of March, who rebels. — War with England. — Invasion of Henry IV. — The English obliged to retire. — Murder of the duke of Rothsay. — Scots defeated at Homildon. — Contest between Henry IV. and the Percies. — Siege of Coklawis or Ormiston. — Prince James sent to France, but taken by the English. — Robert III.'s death.

THE character of John earl of Carrick, eldest son and successor of Robert II., has been already noticed. He was lame in body and feeble in mind, — well-meaning, pious, benevolent, and just; but totally disqualified, from want of personal activity and mental energy, to hold the reins of government of a fierce and unmanageable people.

The new king was invested with his sovereignty at Scone in the usual manner, excepting that, instead of his own name, John, he assumed the title of Robert III., to comply with a superstition of his people, who were impressed with a belief that the former name had distinguished monarchs of England, France, and Scotland, all of whom had been unfortunate. The Scots had also a partiality for the name of Robert, in affectionate and grateful remembrance of Robert Bruce.

The new monarch had been wedded for nigh thirty-three years to Annabella Drummond, daughter of sir John Drummond of Stobhall, a Scottish lady, whose wisdom and virtues corresponded with her ancient family and exalted

station. By this union he had one son, prince David, a youth of eighteen years old, whose calamitous history and untimely death was doomed to darken his father's reign. Five years after Robert III. had occupied the throne, the queen bore a second son, named James, his father's successor, and the first of that name, afterwards so often repeated in the royal line, who swayed the Scottish sceptre.

The new monarch's first attention was to confirm the truce with England, and renew the league with France; so that for eight years the kingdom was freed from the misery of external war, though the indolence of a feeble sovereign left it a prey to domestic feud and the lawless oppression of contending chiefs and nobles: of these we shall only notice one or two marked instances.

Ere yet the monarch was crowned (1390), the earl of Buchan, Robert's own brother, in some personal quarrel with the bishop of Murray, assembled a tumultuary army of Highlanders, and burned the stately cathedral of Elgin, without incurring punishment, or even censure, from his feeble-minded sovereign, for an act which combined rebellion and sacrilege.

Two years afterwards (1392), three chieftains of the clan Donnochy (in lowland speech called Robertsons), instigated or commanded by Duncan Stuart, a natural son of the turbulent earl of Buchan, came down to ravage the fertile country of Angus. The Grays, Lindsays, and Ogilvies marched against them with their followers. A skirmish was fiercely and wildly fought at Glascune in Stormont. An idea of the highland ferocity may be conceived from one incident. Sir Patrick Lindsay, armed at all points, and well mounted, charged in full career a chief of the Catherans, and pinned him to the earth with his lance. But the savage mountaineer, collecting his strength into a dying effort, thrust himself on the lance, and swayed his two-handed sword with such force as to cut through Lindsay's steel boot, and nearly sever his limb. He was forced to retire from the field on which the sheriff of Angus and his brother remained slain, with sixty of their followers. Sir Patrick Gray was also wounded; and the mountaineers, rather victorious than beaten, though they had lost many men, retreated to their fastnesses in safety.

The feuds of the lowland barons were not less distinguished. Robert Keith, the head of

that distinguished family, besieged, in Fyvie castle, his own aunt, the wife of Lindsay of Crawford. Lindsay marched with five hundred men to her rescue. He encountered Keith at Bourtree church, in the Garioch, and defeated him with the loss of fifty men. To use a scriptural expression, every one did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in Scotland.

The mode by which the government endeavoured to stanch these disorders, and indirectly to get rid of the perpetrators of outrages which they dared not punish by course of justice, was equally wild and savage. A clan, or rather a confederation of clans, called the clan Chattan, were at variance (1396) with another union of tribes, called the clan Kay, or clan Quhele. Their dispute, which the king's direct authority was unable to decide, was put to the arbitrement of a combat between thirty on each side, to be fought before the king, in the North Inch of Perth, a beautiful meadow by the side of the Tay. When they mustered their forces, one of the clan Chattan was found missing; but so reckless were men then of life, that a citizen of Perth undertook to supply his place for half a mark of silver. The combat was fought with

infinite fury, until the clan Quhele were cut off all but one man, who escaped by swimming the Tay. Several of the clan Chattan survived, but all severely wounded.

The weak-minded king seems to have carried on his government, such as it was, by the assistance of his brother, the earl of Fife, who had been regent in the later years of his father's reign. But his heir-apparent, David, being a youth of good abilities, handsome person, young, active, and chivalrous, was too prominent and popular to be altogether laid out of view. He may be supposed indeed to have displayed some of the follies and levities of youth which were maliciously insisted on by his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the earl of Fife, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the duke of Lancaster; and he was shortly afterward raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothsay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendancy, over his nephew, prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Fife to duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated

on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars betwixt York and Lancaster.

Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothsay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual command which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth of which Rothsay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection

of queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavoured to sustain her son in the tacit struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the marriage of the young prince was determined on, as the most probable means of putting an end to his irregularities. The advice was excellent; but Albany, getting the management of the affair into his own hands, contrived to render it the means of injuring his nephew's honour, and stirring up the nobility to feud and faction against the prince and each other.

He publicly announced that the hand of the duke of Rothsay should, like a commodity exposed to open auction, be assigned to the daughter of that peer of Scotland who might agree to pay the largest dowery with his bride. Even this base traffic on such a subject Albany contrived to render yet more vile by the dishonest manner in which it was conducted. George earl of March proved the highest offerer on this extraordinary occasion, and having paid down a part of the proposed portion, his daughter was affianced to the duke of Rothsay. The earl of Douglas, envying the aggrandizement which the house of March must have derived from such an union, interfered, and prevailed

upon Albany, who was perhaps not unwilling to mix up the nuptials of his nephew with yet more disgraceful circumstances, to break off the treaty entered into with March, and substitute an alliance with the daughter of Douglas himself. No other apology was offered to March for this breach of contract than that the marriage treaty had not been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom; and, to sum up the injustice with which he was treated, the government refused or delayed to refund the sum of money which had been advanced by him, as part of his daughter's marriage portion. As the power of the earl of March lay on the frontiers of both kingdoms, the bonds of allegiance had never sat heavily on that great family, and a less injury than that which the present earl had received might have sufficed to have urged him into rebellion. Accordingly, he instantly entered into a secret negotiation with Henry IV., and soon afterwards took refuge in England. The acquisition of such a partisan was particularly welcome to the English sovereign at this period, as will appear from the following circumstances-

Very nearly at the precise period (1399.) when Henry IV. made himself master of the crown of

England the existing truce between Scotland and that country expired; and the Scottish borderers, instigated by their restless temper, made fierce incursions on the opposite frontier. They sustained, however, a sharp defeat at Fulhope-law, from sir Robert Umfraville, in which many of their principal chiefs were taken. This did not prevent other enterprises, to which the condition of England, convulsed by the recent change of dynasty, offered but too many temptations. The Scottish borderers took and burned the castle of Wark, and committed great inroads, to which the English frontiers, wasted by a raging pestilence, could scarce offer the usual resistance.

This predatory warfare on the Scottish frontier was instigated by France, although she did not herself enter into hostilities with England, on account of the indisposition of the sovereign, Charles. At this period, therefore, the accession of the earl of March's assistance was an event of great consequence to England, and proportionally dangerous to Scotland. Henry IV. determined to chastise the Scottish depredators, and to revenge himself on the duke of Albany, who, in some intercepted letters, had described him as a pre-eminent traitor.

Henry therefore summoned (1400) the whole military force of England to meet him at York, and published an arrogant manifesto, in which he vindicated the antiquated claim of supremacy, which had been so long in abeyance, and, assuming the tone of lord paramount, commanded the Scottish king, with his prelates and nobles, to meet him at Edinburgh and render homage. Of course no one attended upon that summons, excepting the new proselyte March, who met Henry at Newcastle, and was received to the English fealty. But if Henry's boast of subjecting Scotland was a bravado inconsistent with his usual wisdom, his warfare, on the contrary, was marked by a degree of forbearance and moderation, too seldom the characteristic of an English invader. Penetrating as far as Edinburgh, he extended his especial protection to the canons of Holyrood, from whom his father, John of Gaunt, had experienced shelter, and in general spared religious houses.

The castle of Edinburgh was gallantly held out by the duke of Rothesay, aided by the skill and experience of his father-in-law the earl of Douglas. Albany commanded a large army, which according to the ancient Scottish policy, hovered at some distance from the English host.

The Scots had wisely resolved upon the defensive system of war, which had so frequently saved Scotland. But they could not forbear some of the bravade of the time. The duke of Rothsay wrote to Henry, that, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to rest the national quarrel upon the event of a combat of one, two, or three nobles on every side. Henry laughed at this sally of youthful vivacity, and, in answer, expressed his wonder how Rothsay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others. Albany also would have his gasconade. He sent a herald to Henry to say, that if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would do battle with him to the extremity. The English king gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token that he joyfully accepted the challenge. But Albany had no purpose of keeping his word; and Henry found nothing was to be won by residing in a wasted country to beleaguer an impregnable rock. He raised the siege and retired into England, where the rebellion of Owen Glendower soon after broke out. A truce of twelve months and upwards took place betwixt the kingdoms.

In this interval a shocking example, in Scotland, proved how ambition can induce men to overleap all boundaries prescribed by the laws of God and man. We have seen the duke of Rothsay stoutly defending the castle of Edinburgh in 1400. But when the war was ended he seems to have fallen into the king his father's displeasure. The queen, who might have mediated betwixt them, was dead. Archibald earl of Douglas was also deceased; and, notwithstanding their connection by marriage, there was mortal enmity between the prince and a second Archibald, who succeeded to that earldom. Trail, bishop of Saint Andrew's, a worthy prelate, who had often mediated in the disputes of the royal family, was also no more. The duke of Rothsay was therefore open to all the accusations, however exaggerated, with which Albany's creatures could fill his credulous ears. One sir John de Ramorgny, who had been the prince's tutor, appears to have been the most active in traducing him to his father. This man, it is said, had even offered to the prince to assassinate Albany, and being repulsed by him with abhorrence, took this method to revenge himself. Deceived by malicious reports of his son's wildness and indocility, the simple old king was induced to grant a commission

to Albany to arrest his son, and detain him for some time in captivity, to tame the stubborn spirit of profligacy by which he had been taught to believe him possessed.

But the unnatural kinsman was determined on taking the life of his nephew, the heir of his too confiding brother. The duke of Rothsay was trepanned into Fife, made prisoner, and conducted to Falkland castle, where he was immured in a dungeon, and starved to death. Old historians affirm that the compassion of two females protracted his life and his miseries, one by supplying him from time to time with thin cakes of barley, another after the manner of the Roman charity. It is not likely that, where so stern a purpose was adopted, any access would be permitted to such means of relief.

The death of the prince was imputed to a dysentery. A simulated enquiry was made into the circumstances by a parliament, which was convened under the management of the authors of the murder. Albany and Douglas acknowledged having arrested the prince, vindicating themselves by the royal mandate for that act of violence, but imputed his death to disease.

Yet they showed a consciousness of guilt, by taking out a pardon in terms as broad and comprehensive as might shroud them from any subsequent charge for the murder which they denied, as well as for the arrest which they avowed.

The truce with England was now ended (1402.), and Douglas hastened to drown in border warfare, which was his natural element, the recollection of his domestic crimes. But fortune seemed to have abandoned him, or heaven refused to countenance the accomplice of an innocent prince's most inhuman murder. From this time, notwithstanding his valour and military skill, he lost so many of his followers in each action which he fought as to merit the name of *Tine-man*, i. e. Lose man.

The men of the Merse, influenced by the exiled earl of March, no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions on the border; and the earl of Douglas applied to the landholders of Lothian to discharge this military service. Their first raid was successful; but in the second they were intercepted by the earl of March and a large body both of English and his own personal followers, at a place called West Nisbet.

Hepburn of Hales, the leader of the Scots, was slain: many noble youths of Lothian were also killed or made prisoners.

Douglas, incensed at this loss, requested and obtained a considerable force under command of Albany's son, Murdach earl of Fife, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney. His own battalions augmented the force to ten thousand men, and spread plunder and devastation as far as the gates of Newcastle. But sir Henry Percy (the celebrated Hotspur) had assembled a numerous array, and together with his father, the earl of Northumberland, and their ally March, engaged the Scots at Homildon, a hill within a mile of Wooler, on which Douglas had posted his army. Hotspur was about to rush with his characteristic impetuosity on the Scottish ranks, when the earl of March, laying hand on his bridle, advised him first to try the effects of the archery. The bowmen of England did their duty with their usual fatal certainty and celerity, and the Scottish army, drawn up on the acclivity, presented a fatal mark to their shafts. A brave knight, sir John Swinton, like Grahame at the battle of Durham, saw the disadvantage in which they were placed, and suggested a remedy. "Let us not

stand here to be shot like a herd of deer," he exclaimed; "but let us down on these English, engage them hand to hand, and live or die like men." Adam Gordon, a young border nobleman, whose family had been long at feud with that of Swinton, heard this bold exhortation, and throwing himself from his horse, renounced the deadly quarrel and asked knight-hood of his late foe: "For of hand more noble," he exclaimed, "may I never take that honour." Swinton knighted him with the brief ceremony practised in such urgent circumstances, and they rushed down the hill with their united vassals. But too weak in numbers to make the desired impression, they were both slain with all their followers. Douglas himself now showed an inclination to descend the hill; but encountering a little precipice in the descent which had not been before perceived, the Scottish ranks became confused and broken, their disarray enabling the archers, who had fallen a little back, to continue their fatal volley, which now descended [as upon an irregular mob. The rout became general. Very many Scots were slain. Douglas was made captive: five wounds and the loss of an eye showed he had done his duty as a soldier, though not as a general. Murdach earl of Fife, son of the regent Albany, with the

earls of Murray and Angus, and about twenty chiefs and men of eminence, became also prisoners.

Great was the joy of Hotspur over this victory, and great the pleasure of Henry IV. when the news reached him. Yet fate had so decreed that the victory of Homildon became the remote cause that the monarch's throne was endangered, and that Percy lost his life in a rebellious conspiracy.

No law of chivalry was more certain than that which placed at the will of the victor the captive of his sword and spear, to ransom or hold him prisoner at pleasure; and so much was this rule established on the borders, that when an English or Scottish prisoner was taken, nothing was more common than for the captor to permit the vanquished to retire from the field of battle, having first promised to meet him upon a day fixed, and settle with him for ransom. Nor was the consent either of the king or general necessary to this kind of practice. Nevertheless, on this occasion, Henry wrote to the victorious Percies, commanding them not to admit the important prisoners made at Homildon to be ransomed or delivered without his special consent. On

the other hand, he generously bestowed upon the earl and his son sir Henry Percy the whole earldom of Douglas, with all the territories of that proud family. The father and son regarded the first proposition of the king as an injury: and for the second, being the grant of a martial tract of country which was yet to be conquered, they deemed in their hearts they owed the king no gratitude. At the same time they received them both with seeming satisfaction, resolved to make the conquest of the earldom of Douglas the pretext of assembling forces, which they were determined to employ very differently.

Accordingly, in June 1403, the Percies besieged a tower named Coklawis, or Ormiston, and agreed with the owner that he should surrender if not relieved by the regent of Scotland before Lambmas. Albany upon receiving this intelligence assembled his council, and asked their opinion whether the place should be relieved or no? All the counsellors, who knew the duke's poverty of spirit, conceived they were sure to meet his wishes when they recommended that the border turret should be abandoned to its fate, rather than a battle should be hazarded for its preservation. The regent,

well knowing the secret purpose of the Percies, whose forces were about to be directed against England, took the opportunity of swaggering a little. "By heaven and Saint Fillan," said he, "I will keep the day of appointment before Coklawis, were there none to follow me thither but Peter de Kinbuck, who holds my horse yonder." The council heard him with wonder and applause; and it was not until they reached Coklawis with a considerable army, the Scottish nobles learnt that what had given this temporary fit of courage to their regent was the certainty that he could not meet Hotspur, of whose death and defeat at Shrewsbury they were soon after informed. The cowardice of the heart is perhaps better learned from a fanfaronade of this kind, than from an accidental failure of the nerves in a moment of danger. Some proposals made for peace only produced a feverish truce of brief duration.

Meantime (1405) prince James, the only surviving son of the poor infirm old king, being now in his eleventh year, required better education than Scotland could afford, and protection more efficient than that of his debilitated father. Robert III. could not but suspect the cause and circumstances of his eldest son's death,

and be conscious that the ambition which had prompted the removal of Rothsay would not be satisfied without the life of James also. The youthful prince was, therefore, committed to the care of Wardlaw, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and was by his advice sent to France, as the safest means of protecting him from his uncle's schemes of treachery or violence. He was embarked accordingly, Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, being appointed as his governor. A considerable number of Lothian gentlemen, with David Fleming of Cumbernauld, attended him to the ship. But on their return they were attacked, for what reason is unknown, by James Douglas of Balveny, uncle to the earl. A skirmish took place on Hermanston moor, where Fleming and several of his companions fell.

— This bloody omen, at the commencement of prince James's voyage, was followed by equally calamitous consequences. The vessel in which he was embarked had not gained Flamborough-head when she was taken by an English corsair. As the truce at the time actually subsisted, this capture of the prince was in every respect contrary to the law of nations. But knowing the importance of possessing the royal hostage, Henry resolved to detain him at all events.

“In fact,” he said, “the Scots ought to have given me the education of this boy, for I am an excellent French scholar.” Apparently this new disaster was an incurable wound to the old king; yet he survived, laden with years and infirmities, till 1406, just a twelvemonth after this last misfortune. His death made no change in public affairs, and was totally unfelt in the administration, which continued in the hands of Albany.

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